ACROSS THE WORLD OF ISLAM

SAMUEL M. ZWEMER
Author of "Arabia"

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ACROSS THE WORLD OF ISLAM

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A MOSLEM ENGAGED IN PRIVATE DEVOTION

In addition to formal prayer, *salat*, the sincere believer offers his *dua'* or informal petitions, while the religious mystic performs his *zikr*. All are seekers after God, if haply they may find Him.

Across the World of Islam

STUDIES IN ASPECTS OF THE MOHAMMEDAN FAITH AND IN THE PRESENT AWAKENING OF THE MOSLEM MULTITUDES

By

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To

THE INNER CIRCLE OF FRIENDS,

Whose Faith and Sacrifice Made
These Studies Possible

MY KASHKUL

Foreword to the Reader

NO FIGURE is more familiar to those who travel along the great highways or the unbeaten paths of the Moslem world than that of the wandering derwish carrying his greasy, oval bowl of metal or wood, perchance a cocoanut-shell or gourd suspended by three brass chains from the shoulder. This beggar's-bowl in which he receives alms and scraps of food is called *al kashkul.* The derivation of the word is obscure, but may be related to the Persian word for shoulder, *kul,* like our English word " colporteur "—one who carries a pack on his back.

The adept follower of the Mystic Way in Islam is actually distinguished by four external signs. He carries a *tabar* or battle-axe to protect him from wild beasts during his wanderings in the desert. On his head is the *taj* or derwish cap, often embroidered with Koran texts. His unshorn locks fall over his shoulders and indicate neglect of the conventional. But most conspicuous of all is the *kashkul* in which he receives the contributions of the faithful.

In Arabic literature, the word *kashkul* came to signify also an album or a literary collection from various sources. We have, for example, the famous *Kitab-al-*

Kashkul of Beha-al-Din al 'Amili; and an Egyptian comic paper, similar to *Punch,* is published in Cairo under the same title.

One who has lived in, and wandered for thirty-eight years across, the wide world of Islam gathers much in his mental *kashkul.* In this volume he opens his beggar's basket to the reader, and offers a share of the spoil collected from Cairo to Casablanca, from Capetown to Calcutta, albeit a miscellany. The unity of the world of Islam, its fascination, its desperate needs and its marvellous awakening life have impressed all who study the subject. There are byways as well as highways which we ask the reader to traverse, but all lead to the same goal, and each chapter, we trust, adds its line or two to what is after all only a part of a great living panorama. Some of the chapters appeared originally as articles in leading missionary magazines. To the editors of these publications we are indebted for permission to reprint in revised form.

The title of the book may seem to include more than its contents. Some of the gaps in the survey are accidental, others intentional. My earlier book on Arabia has long been superseded in a whole series of illuminating volumes by explorers, travellers, and missionaries. Egypt and Turkey, it is true, occupy the front page of the press on the Near East, but in neither country have Nationalism nor the conflicting forces of Islam itself yet reached stable equilibrium. Although I saw somewhat of Chinese Islam in 1917, the scat-

tered Mohammedan population of that land and of Central Asia may have a chapter all to themselves at a later date.

The illustrations are taken from a large collection of photographs, some rather rare, obtained on our journeys. We express our indebtedness to P. Dittrich and G. Lekegian and Company, of Cairo, for those of the mosques and derwishes; to Miss E. I. M. Boyd for that of the mosque at Kustendil, Bulgaria; to the librarian of the Aligarh University; to Kurkdijian, Surabaia, Java, for the mosque; and to missionary friends in Java, Sumatra, and South Africa for other photographs. The Mecca pictures were secured from my friend Ibrahim Rifa'at Pasha, of Cairo, and are used by his permission.

The author desires also to express his deep gratitude to government officials in British, French and Dutch possessions and colonies for the unfailing courtesy and kindness shown him, and, above all, to the missionaries of all societies and to his many Moslem friends for hospitality of home and heart. The derwish calls down the blessing of Allah at the doors where they have filled his *kashkul*.

S. M. Zwemer.

Cairo.

CONTENTS

I. The New World of Islam 15

II. The British Empire and the Empire of Islam 32

III. Could Mohammed Read and Write? . . . 51

IV. The "Holy Traditions" 75

V. Women in the Koran and Tradition . . . 93

VI. Womanhood Under Islam 117

VII. The Mosque as a Place of Worship . . . 154

VIII. Mecca the Mysterious 165

IX. Islam and Christianity in Africa To-Day . 185

X. The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan 205

XI. Islam in North Africa 224

XII. Islam in South Africa 241

XIII. Java and the Dutch East Indies 256

XIV. Persia and Shiah Islam 278

XV. Islam in Russia 297

XVI. Islam in India 313

XVII. Islam in Southeastern Europe 343

Glossary of Arabic Terms 364

Index 372

ILLUSTRATIONS

A Moslem Engaged in Private Devotion.....*Frontispiece*
A Persian Derwish in State..... 16
Minarets of the Al Azhar Mosque, Cairo..... 17
The Citadel Mosque of Cairo..... 32
Portrait of Mohammed by a Persian Artist..... 33
Facsimile of a Page from the Hadith Qudsi..... 80
Interior of Main Court of Al-Azhar at Cairo..... 81
A Blind Beggar Asking Alms on the Streets of Cairo.. 96
From Behind the Lattice..... 97
A Javanese Woman with Sheaf of Rice..... 128
A Typical Village Mosque and Street in Egypt..... 129
Court in the Mosque of Ahmad Ibn Tulun, Cairo (876 A. D.)..... 144
Pulpit in the So-called Blue Mosque, Cairo..... 145
The Cross-roads of All East Africa..... 206
Portion of the Kiswah..... 208
The Mosque of the Prophet at Medina..... 209
A Sabil in Cairo..... 224
Three Mosques at Cairo..... 225
The Mahmal or Ornamental Camel-litter..... 256
Two Travelling Derwishes from the Sudan..... 257
Past and Present in Africa..... 272
A Modern Mosque in Durban, Natal..... 272
Mosque of Sidi Bou Medine, Tlemcen, Algeria..... 273
A Mohammedan Funeral at Tlemcen, Algeria..... 288
One of a Score of Mosques in Capetown..... 289
A Typical Mosque in Java..... 304
A Christian Congregation in Java..... 305

At the Training School for Evangelists, Solo, Java 320
Exterior of Building of One of the Classes 320
New Roads in Persia 321
The Leading Muhammedan Theologians and Preachers of Isfahan, Persia 336
Tekké of the Bektashi Dervishes 337
A Few Muhammedan Periodicals in English or German 352
The Grave of Sir Sayyid Ahmed at Aligarh, India 353
A Group of Dervishes 372
An Ancient Mosque at Kustendil, Bulgaria 373

I

THE NEW WORLD OF ISLAM

IF ONE could stand on one of the lofty minarets of the great Azhar University Mosque, of Cairo, and look eastward, westward, and southward over the vast areas dominated by Islam for thirteen centuries, nothing would so impress the thoughtful observer as the fact that the old empire of Mohammed has become almost unrecognizable because of changes from without and from within.

Islam was cradled in the desert and bore the imprint of its environment—stern, ruthless, majestic, awful, immutable, inevitable—for many centuries. In 907 A. D. the bounds of the Caliphate included the whole of Turkestan, Persia, all of western India, as well as Arabia, North Africa, and Spain. Well might the ruler of so vast a domain call himself Suleiman the Magnificent. To-day we witness the remnants of the old Turkish Empire, Arabia, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Palestine, struggling in the throes of a new nationalism, eager for democracy yet none bold or strong enough to save the Caliphate when the Turks themselves abolished the office and deported the last of Ottoman Caliphs. The situation is described by Moslems themselves in language that borders on pessimism.

"There has been many a dark hour in the history of Islam," said Khawaja Nazir Ahmad, preaching in the Woking Mosque (London), 1924, "but never any so dark as the present. We, the present-day Moslems,

have indeed fallen on evil days. Our past glory has forsaken us. Our might, our honour, have deserted us. To our rivals, our days are already numbered. It is true that, to a certain extent, we have awakened and realized the critical nature of the situation in which we find ourselves; but, like a man who has been enjoying a deep slumber and is awakened, all of a sudden, by some turmoil around him, we are rushing about in utter darkness to avoid what we perceive to be an imminent danger. Confusion has seized our senses; and though the danger is within our purview, yet we cannot properly locate it. Death is staring us in the face, and the struggle for self-preservation has just begun."

The Egyptian papers published a cartoon showing Kemal Pasha perched in the top of a high palm tree bearing the word " Caliphate " and sawing through the trunk below him. Beneath the tree stands a man in a mantle and turban, representing the old world of Islam, warning him with great alarm of his peril. The unbounded popularity of the Angora government in Egypt and India has vanished. Turkey has isolated herself not only from the rest of Islam by her recent action, but she has thrown down the challenge to educated Mohammedans everywhere also to separate church and state and to substitute nationalism for pan-Islamic ideals. The situation compels Moslem leaders to reconsider religious positions formerly accepted as axiomatic. Great perplexity exists in the minds of the masses. The Mohammedans of Bengal, when they heard of the fall of the Caliphate, first contended that the news was a " lie of Reuters," or, if true, the news must be good, since the Turks can only do the right thing. When awake to the facts, they were depressed and Sayyid Amir Ali wrote:

A PERSIAN DERWISH IN STATE

The head of one of the brotherhoods in Islam. He is dressed in a robe of honour and has the typical *kashkul* and *tabar*.

MINARETS OF THE AL AZHAR MOSQUE, CAIRO

The wooden structures at the top of the minarets are for purposes of illumination by lanterns during festival nights.

" The so-called ' abolition ' of the Caliphate will, I fear, give rise to grave unrest among the unadvanced communities and at the same time will create discord among all Moslem nations, and lead to the disintegration of Islam as a moral force united hitherto by one common ideal. The semi-civilized may eventually be drawn into the meshes of revolution and disorder.

" Islam, by its discipline and rules of conduct, maintains social order and sobriety and consecrates family life and private ownership of property. For it to lose its force, especially among these communities, will have a disastrous effect on civilization and progress."

The Moslem magazine, *Light,* published at Lahore, described the new situation in the Moslem world with equal alarm:

" Is not Islam involved to-day in a life-and-death struggle? Is there one nook of the globe, or one corner, where hostile forces in all their might are not up against Islam? Can you point to one Moslem land from Morocco to Malaya, from the inaccessible heart of Africa to the forbidding confines of Central Asia, where the heel or, to say the least, the thumb of one usurper or another is not enslaving the Mussulman in body, and corrupting him in soul? "

One could multiply such testimony, but we ask rather, What is the significance of this " life-and-death struggle " to Western nations and to the progress of civilization? What is Islam? It is at once the great surrender and the great denial,—the willing surrender of millions of human hearts and lives for thirteen long centuries to the obedience of Mohammed, the great Arabian, and the blinding of those hearts and lives by an almost total eclipse of the Jesus Christ of history through Moslem tradition.

"Mohammed," says G. K. Chesterton, "did not, like the Magi, find a new star; he saw through his own particular window a glimpse of the great grey field of the ancient starlight."

Whether Islam was originally intended to be a universal religion is a disputed question. Learned writers assert and equally learned scholars deny the idea of universality in early Islam. Among the former are T. W. Arnold, Nicholson, Margoliouth, and Nöldeke; Among the latter, Sir William Muir, Cætani, Lammens and other recent writers.[1] The question, however, has almost become academic. Islam to-day is without doubt one of the two great religions that *has* a world outlook and a world program, and that world was never so extensive, so restless, so conscious of itself as it is to-day.

"At this period, entering upon a New Year," said a Moslem writer of Calcutta, "it behoves us all to look around and see the position of Islam in the West. When, twenty-three years ago, I embraced Islam, I did so standing practically alone. To-day, what a difference there is! In England, the Islamic community of Britishers is 3,000. Three journals circulate here—*The Islamic World, The Islamic Review* and *The Review of Religions*. All this has happened in a short space of time. In France, a country which I visit every month, there is the magnificent mosque almost completed in Paris, with a strong Islamic population, and many French people who have accepted 'The Faith most excellent.' The French Society (of which I am representative in Great Britain) is named the 'Fraternité Musulmané,' and is a very strong body and active. In Germany, there is a mosque in Berlin, with a number of Germans who

[1] Compare "The Conception of Universality in Early Islam," by E. E. Elder in *The Moslem World*, January, 1927.

are Muslims. In America, there is a mosque in Chicago, and I was recently honoured by being asked to visit the Chicago University to speak on 'Islamic History.' In the Argentine Republic, there is a very influential Muslim population, with an Arabic journal, *El Argentino*. Brazil counts thousands of Muslims. In Holland and Belgium, there are nationals of those countries who came to Islam. In Hungary, there is a strong community with some illustrious names. Those who prophesied the decline of Islam have seen their predictions falsified, for Islam is gaining ground throughout the world. In Australia, there are, to-day, upwards of twenty mosques. South Africa reckons numbers where sometime ago none existed. To-day, when a weary world seeks consolation, it is Islam and Islam alone that can guide a stricken humanity. Muslims! be up and doing, and bring to the Light those who are now groping in darkness."

The old missionary slogan has met with a counter-slogan. Islam is challenging the West to accept Mohammed as the hope of humanity. His biography, under the title of *The Ideal Prophet,* is now printed in several languages and a trust[2] has been recently formed to broadcast the new Mohammedan thought. It is a new world of Islam because Islam has entered the *New* World. Mohammed has discovered America. Every one of the five continents has its Moslem population. In North America there are scattered groups of immigrants numbering, it is true, twelve thousand only, but active in their propaganda through *The Moslem Sunrise,* published in Chicago. In South America, *i. e.,* Brazil, Argentine, Guadeloupe, and Guiana, there are over one hundred and ninety thousand Mohammedans.

[2] See the *Islamic Review* (Woking) for lists of the monthly contributors and the program of publication.

In France the number of Moslems is increasing; in Paris alone there are nearly three thousand.

Islam challenges Europe and America by the activity of its propaganda in centres such as London, Berlin, Paris, and Chicago. It is true that this propaganda is conducted by a heterodox and modernistic Islam, the Ahmadiya sect, but it has a considerable reflex influence in all countries. The conversion of Europeans and Americans to Islam has become a stock-in-trade argument against Christianity in Egypt and India. In Australia, Moslems number over twenty-five thousand and publish their own magazine. In the Philippine Islands our government census puts the number of Mohammedans at 586,999. These fringes of the Moslem world area are of least importance numerically, but not therefore of least importance to Western Christendom.

Statistics are dry and often bewildering, yet it is only by statistics that we can measure the present expansion of a religion which began in the sixth century with a minority of one man who claimed to be God's last messenger.

To-day the number of those who profess and call themselves Mohammedans is nearly two hundred and thirty-five million. In Southeastern Europe (omitting the scattered groups of Britain and France as negligible in number, but not in their influence) there are three and a half million. They are found chiefly in Albania, Bulgaria, Greece and Yugo-slavia. Add to these a little over eighteen millions in European and Asiatic Russia and nearly two hundred thousand in South America (chiefly Brazil and Guiana).

Pass to the two great continents and the Island world where Islam has made its conquests. In Africa

there are nearly fifty million followers of the Arabian prophet, and they are found nearly everywhere except in the southwestern portion of the continent. In the Belgian and French Congo, Liberia, Mozambique, Somaliland; around the Lakes and Zanzibar and in Madagascar, on the west coast of Senegal, Guinea, Dahomey, in Uganda, Abyssinia, Kenya, Tanganyika; in Sierra Leone and the Gold Coast, Togoland and the Cameroons; nearly eleven million in Nigeria, and last but not least, the solid belt of Moslem countries on the north, Egypt, the Sudan, Tripoli, Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco. In Africa paganism is crumbling, but Islam is aggressive, ubiquitous, and is contesting with Christianity the destiny of a continent.

In Asia every country has its Moslem problem except Japan and Korea. In China there are about nine millions; in the Dutch East Indies over thirty-six millions; India has the largest Moslem population of any country in the world—over sixty-nine millions. In Bengal province alone there are twenty-five million Moslems.

The missionary forces have, however, hitherto, moved across or around this great Moslem bloc. The following areas or countries in which the population is wholly or predominantly Moslem are practically unoccupied, although the missionary conferences of Cairo, Edinburgh, Lucknow, and Jerusalem successively laid them all before the Church; Afghanistan, the provinces of Hejaz, Azir, Nejd, and Hadramaut in Arabia, Russian Turkestan, parts of Siberia, Bokhara, the eastern part of the Malay Peninsula, Socotra, the Moslem populations of Madagascar, Russia in Europe, Tripoli in North Africa, the French Soudan, the Great Aures Mountains, the Saharan Atlas ranges, the central popu-

lous mountain regions of Morocco, and the vast Sahara itself. These unoccupied fields have a total population of approximately thirty-six million. We face a new world because we know its vast proportions and must acknowledge our long neglect.

It is a new world of Islam also because of new light thrown on its origin and character, its unity and dissensions, its vital theistic principles and its backward Arabian ethics. The bibliography on Islam is becoming enormous. Orient and occident have contributed of their ripe scholarship in translations of the Koran, translations of the Traditions in English, German and French, and of the sources of Islamic history and jurisprudence. The grotesque ignorance or the inaccurate statements of earlier writers need no longer lead astray even the casual reader on this subject. The life of Mohammed, for example, now appears in the daylight of history and not in the moonshine of tradition, thanks to the labours of Grimme, Nöldeke, Buhl, Lammens, Margoliouth, Tor Andrae, and, more especially, Goldziher and Leone Cætani. Their labours have abrogated much of the learning and lore enshrined in our earlier popular histories and encyclopedias.[3] Weil, Sprenger, Carlyle, and Muir no longer hold the keys to the problem of the Great Arabian.

The Koran, too, has lost its unique character as an Arabic classic, impressing the ignorant non-Arabs by its poetic cadence. The book has been translated into forty languages, is handled by the infidel, nay, can be bought, in sections, as a gramaphone record, in the markets of Cairo and Calcutta. Professor Gustav Pfannmüller, in his *Handbuch der Islam-Literatur,*

[3] *Cf.* "The Quest of the Historical Mohammed," by Arthur Jeffery in *The Moslem World,* October, 1926.

gives a partial list of translations and versions in all the languages of Europe. Those which now appear in Bengali, Urdu, Marathi, Tamil, Javanese, Chinese and English, prepared by and for the Mohammedans themselves, are more significant as the harbinger of a new day. Some even believe that the translation of the Koran into the vernaculars of Africa and Asia is a strategic missionary method. The Swahili version, by Canon Dale, at least went far to prove its wisdom. As long as we have the Bible Societies missionaries may welcome a polyglot Koran.

Ignorance of Islam and of the world it still dominates is inexcusable in a new day whose dawn " came up like thunder " during and after the World War. The daily press, the illustrated magazines, the theatre, and even the cinema have brought Constantinople and Cairo, Mecca and the muezzin, " Fatima " and her sisters, the " Thief of Bagdad," or the honest exiled Caliph, to our doors. The Near East Relief has not only carried America's overflowing bread-basket to a million starving widows, orphans and exiles, but has put the economic, social, and spiritual needs of the Near East in bold relief before a hundred million people. The Moslem world was never so near as it is to-day.

It is a new world because it is no longer stagnant. New movements, economic, social, intellectual, spiritual, are stirring everywhere. The currents run counter to each other and with terrific speed. Zionism, Bolshevism, commercialism, nationalism, imperialism, all have their own interests centring in the undeveloped, unexploited Moslem Near East. Each is a disintegrating factor in the old world of thought and life. Turkey is turning her back on the past and is tramp-

ling on traditions that had the sanctity of age and religion. The cry of the reactionaries is, " Back to the Koran and to Mohammed." The problem of the progressives is to get as far away from both as is decent and safe. The unity of the Moslem problem is nowhere seen more clearly than in this struggle of the old and new in the womb of a new day. It is similar in all lands from Java to Morocco.

Whether reformed Islam will remain Islam was questioned by Lord Cromer, two decades ago, in his book on Modern Egypt. The question is now answered, but in the negative. The rise of new sects, the Babi-Behai in Persia, the Ahmadi in India, and the recrudescence of old sects, the Wahhabis and the Ikhwan of Arabia, also indicate a coming struggle. The educational revival, the renaissance of Arabic as a world language through schools and universities, the feminist movement, above all, the enormous activity of Moslem journalism,[4] co-operate to bring about new conditions of tolerance, accessibility and responsiveness.

National and compulsory primary education for the masses is an ambitious program for countries where ninety-six per cent. of the men and ninety-nine per cent. of the women are still illiterate. Yet that is the slogan in the Cairo press and among the Mohammedan Nationalists of India. Their boundless faith is not without works. To give a single instance, Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy has offered to the Bombay University, on behalf of a group of Moslems, one million rupees, in three and one-half per cent. government bonds, for an endowment of university scholarships for

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[4] *Cf.* " Journalism in Moslem Lands," by S. M. Zwemer in Mott's *Moslem World To-day*, Doran, 1925.

Mohammedan students of the Bombay Presidency going to foreign countries for higher studies in medicine, philosophy, ancient history, Arabic literature, town-planning, technological and industrial subjects.

Moslem Nationalist schools refusing state aid are springing up all over India. In Sumatra we visited private Moslem co-educational schools which were up-to-date and crowded with hundreds of pupils. So great a number of public schools have been established by the French in Algeria and Tunisia that French is becoming the language, not only of economic and social, but even of religious life in North Africa. Persia is awakening to the need of education for the masses, and missionaries are training the future leaders of education in the only colleges that exist. The same is true of Mesopotamia. The American University at Cairo has pupils from Mecca, and King Feisul is asking for an American college at Bagdad.

"The shattering impact of the War itself," so it was agreed by the General Missionary Conference held in 1924 at Jerusalem, "the rise of clamant nationalism and race movements cutting across Pan-Islamic policy, the Bolshevik ferment, the Caliphate agitation, the increased government of Islamic peoples by European powers, the critical debate on the civilization of Christendom, the eastward spread of European scepticism, the rebellion against traditionalism and external authority, the hunger for knowledge of new scientific thought and invention, the canvassing of the status of Oriental womanhood, and some strong reactionary movements are all factors in producing a profound and widespread change that can be described soberly and with precision as epoch-making. The urgency of the need is quite as impressive as its range; for the present plasticity cannot be expected to continue indefinitely."

The ubiquity, activity, and enterprise of the Moslem press and journalism already mentioned are creating new opportunities and a new mentality among the masses. Provincialism is going. There lies before me a Malay weekly published by Mohammedans in Borneo. On a single page there is an article on Islam in America, another article on the new mosque in Berlin, items regarding Aligarh College, India, Nationalism in Bengal, and an advertisement of a Javanese steamship company, that accommodates Borneo pilgrims for Mecca, if they will embark at Pedang, Sumatra. What clearer proof of the unity of the new world of Islam? The leading Arabic periodicals of Cairo have agents and readers everywhere. *Al Hilal* is one of the popular illustrated monthlies dealing with current events, science, art, and literature. Each number contains a department of questions and answers. In one current number those who use this open forum represent the following lands and cities: Katif, East Arabia; Nablous, Palestine; Utica, New York; Tanta, Egypt; Bagdad; Waterbury, Connecticut; Montreal; Partos, Brazil; Syria; Mexico; and Java. The same magazine gives a list of a dozen foreign agencies, including Brazil and Persia. Among those who advertise in its columns are Syrians and Egyptians in Manchester, England, Berlin and Rio de Janeiro. This unity of the Islamic world through the press has its advantages, but also its grave perils for Christian missions. The spread of missions into purely Moslem lands, for example the opening of Central Arabia and Afghanistan to medical missionaries, aroused the Moslem press. The Cairo Moslem papers reported the Edinburgh Conference and the plans for church union in Canada. An article appears in an Indian paper complaining of

the success of Christian missions among the Moslems of Trinidad. A Singapore magazine finds encouragement in editorial exaggeration as follows:

"To-day a great part of the inhabitants of the world claim to profess the religion of Islam. According to the latest estimate, the adherents of this creed amount to four hundred millions, not an insignificant fraction of the whole human race. In a comparatively brief space of 1,300 years the teachings of the Koran have taken a firm root in the hearts of such a vast multitude of men and have become their daily code. East or West, North or South, wherever the observer turns his eyes, his gaze invariably encounters at least some unit of this great brotherhood. Apart from the vast tracts of purely Moslem countries and the millions inhabiting China and Russia, one comes across the Polish-speaking Moslems in Lithuania, Dutch-speaking Moslems of Cape Colony and those inhabiting the West Indies and the Guianas, and last but not least the new adherents of the faith in the British Isles, North America, Australia and Japan."

In similar vein, Abdul Qayum Malik wrote in *The Moslem Chronicle* (Calcutta, Nov. 19, 1926):

"Let no enthusiastic exponent of the worth and quality of European institutions gloat too wildly over the supposed downfall of Islam as a World System, and look upon present-day popular disaffection of Moslems against their past conduct of life as manifestation of their disillusionment of Islam's ideals, but let them study the calm and reasoned efforts that are going on everywhere, to take stock of the present situation, to devise means and undertake measures to eradicate from their social and political and spiritual system the taint of their past indifference. It is, therefore, wrong to imagine that the ideal of the universal brotherhood of El Islam has ceased to play its legitimate part in the

creation of the Moslem world of to-morrow, nor would it be right to declare that the revivalist programme initiated by the great reforms of the past century represents a movement in which genuine and true Islam has been relegated to the background. To my mind, the Pan-Islamic ideal is still the mainspring of our present activities, but with this essential difference that if in the past it was based upon the mythical and ignorant notion of large sections of Mussalmans who, irrespective of the considerations of their material equipment, believed that they could cope with the rising ascendancy of the West merely because they were Mussalmans, the present-day manifestation of the Pan-Islam on the other hand is of the character of an intelligent and well-informed interest in the well-being of the Moslem communities, based largely on their willingness to acquire knowledge of modern arts and sciences, their eagerness to study progressive institutions of the West, and their anxiety to convince the non-Moslem world, of the vast potentialities of Islam as a great reformative force."

Finally we must note that this new self-conscious, half-educated world of Islam has found new weapons against an old Gospel. In this respect the situation is entirely new. The old Islam honoured Jesus Christ as a great prophet, and although it denied his deity and atoning death it always acknowledged his sinlessness and virgin birth. The New Islam denies the sinlessness of Jesus, mocks at the virgin birth, and offers proof from the writings of infidels and from modern destructive criticism that the Bible is a tissue of fables and myths. It is painful to read the articles written on these subjects by men who in some cases are graduates of Christian colleges. The infamous book by Mohammed Tannir, *Pagan Elements in Christianity,* is an example, unfortunately not unique. The late Mr. Howard Walter, in his admirable book on the Ahma-

diya Movement, quotes the following passage from *The Review of Religions,* saying, " Could deliberate blasphemy go to greater lengths? "

" The manner is very amusing in which the three Persons of Trinity (*sic*) shifted the responsibility of the reformation of mankind from one to the other. There was the Father, who, having a certain superiority, in name if not in reality, thought of restoring man to his original state—one should (*sic*) think it means the savage state, for human progress has been gradual from a lower to a higher stage,—but he found his hands tied by the manacles of justice. Out of filial reverence the Son offered himself, but when he came into the world, he went away with the empty consolation that the third partner shall come and teach them all truths and guide them into all truth. The third Person, *being only a pigeon* [the italics are ours], found himself unable to undertake the teaching of truths, but thought he had done his duty by teaching the apostles a few dialects, which they were thus able to speak stammeringly."

The Moslem mind in Islam is still averse to the Gospel, but expresses itself in a new way that bears the trade-mark, " Made in Europe."

" The heathen idea in slaying an animal was to placate a particular god, who would not be satisfied until the life of an animal was presented as an offering. The practice of offering a beautiful girl annually to the god of the Nile, the waters of which were the principal source of their crops, is well known. Even in Christianity we find traces of a similar idea. Man sinned. God will not forgive him until he has offered some sacrifice as an expiation. . . . Now, you need not offer your own sacrifice. Christ, the sinless, the only begotten son of God, was offered as a sacrifice for the sinning humanity—so that whoever believes in this vicarious sacrifice of Christ is saved. Thanks to the Prophet of

Islam, the Moslem faith is free from such absurd dogmas as vicarious suffering and atonement. The sacrifice Islam sanctions has absolutely no idea in it of placating an angry Deity."

Although severely critical on the one hand, the attitude of many other educated Moslems, especially in India, Egypt and Persia, is often most sympathetic and eager for the truth. The questions that are put in such magazines as *Epiphany,* published by the Oxford Mission, are abundant proof of restlessness due to real spiritual hunger. The ethical standards of Christ are openly approved by those who at the same time apply the acid test of His Gospel teaching to our Western ethics and our Western civilization. The young Indian barrister-at-law, already quoted, after giving a bird's-eye view of the Moslem situation to-day, asks a pertinent question and himself gives answer:

" What is going to be our future, and how far will we continue to progress along with other highly organized communities of the West? In view of the highly complicated nature of world conditions which obtain at the present time, it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to find a satisfactory answer to this question. But even a summary view would disclose that two of the greatest obstacles to peace between the Muslim world and the European world are Bolshevism and the inordinate racial pride of the Western races, face to face with the struggling yet ambitious Muslim communities. But one may as well inquire: ' Does Bolshevism really constitute a danger so long as European powers are animated in their dealings with Islam by a spirit of justice and fairness? '

" To my mind the real promoter of ' Red ' ambitions in the East is not the propaganda of Zienovieff or spectacular gestures of Trotsky, but the unchecked despotism of Western imperialism. Delimitate its scope, and you have almost within your grasp the basis of a real and enduring peace

between Europe and Asia. The Treaty of Berlin drove Turkey into the arms of Germany, the Treaty of Sevres drove her towards Russia, but the Treaty of Lausanne saved Turkey from Sovietism and made her a rampart against Bolshevism. Let Europe remember that contented Islam is the greatest and safest insurance against the disruption of Europe's economic dominion in the West and its political rule in the East."

In the following chapters we will see that the diagnosis of the Indian Moslem press is not altogether amiss. At the outset it suffices us to sum up the situation in this new world of Islam in general terms. We may say that at last the whole of Christendom faces the whole Moslem world in the open. The day of clandestine or indirect approach or contacts is past. They know and we know that Christianity and Islam face each other as rivals for world dominion. Compromise of principles is as impossible for them as it is for us. But a new sense of brotherhood and of international trust will result, if we play fair. A great and effectual door has been opened for the Gospel. A door once barred and bolted is nailed open.

The Cross of Christ is the missing link in Islam's creed; it is our glory. The life of Christ alone can elevate their moral conceptions; dare we withhold that life from them? The power of Christ alone is able to set them free in the liberty of the sons of God; shall we not proclaim to them this freedom? Their political hopes in a pan-Islamic program are ruined. But they deserve sympathy and help in their struggle for a new nationalism and the principles of democracy. The soil of their hearts has been broken up by the plowshare of God. Now is the time for sowing; to-morrow, the harvest.

II

THE BRITISH EMPIRE AND THE EMPIRE OF ISLAM

IT SEEMS presumption on the part of one who is neither a Moslem nor a British subject to venture an opinion on so large a theme, one which bristles with such difficulties as the relationship of two great empires whose boundaries lie rather in human hearts than within the covers of an atlas. But "exceeding peace" under the British flag during more than thirty years of residence abroad has "made Ben Adhem bold." In 1877, Edward Maitland wrote a curious book entitled *England and Islam; or The Counsel of Caiaphas,* in which this voice crying in the wilderness pointed out "the spiritual relationship between England, Islam and Israel; the duty of England in the present crisis; and the high destiny that awaits her on the fulfilment of that duty." In 1912, Syed H. R. Abdul Majid, LL.D., collected a series of articles and addresses and essays under the title, *England and the Moslem World.* In this book, also, an attempt is made to measure the areas, populations, and responsibilities, mutual or conflicting, of the British Empire and the Mohammedan world. More recently Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din, of Woking, has given his views on the subject in a book entitled *The House Divided.* The Moslem press also for the last two decades has had its say on the question from all angles.

The British Empire and the Empire of Islam are

THE CITADEL MOSQUE OF CAIRO

Built by Mohammed Ali (1811–1848) in Turkish style. This mosque is one of the most sumptuous places of worship and also, by its location, the most conspicuous.

PORTRAIT OF MOHAMMED BY A PERSIAN ARTIST

The Prophet stands with a lance in his right hand and a sword on his left. Heavenly messengers hover over him, and he wears the famous *Burda* (mantle) celebrated in song. The inscription is in Arabic and, freely translated, reads as follows: "O Allah, bless and prosper the illiterate prophet, the Arabian, the Hashimite, the Quraishite, the man of Mecca and Medina, the hero in battle of Tihama, the pearly star, the possessor of dignity and gravity, the one buried at Medina, the servant aided, the rightly guided messenger, the elect one, the most glorious, the praised, the most praiseworthy, the father of Qasim, Mohammed son of Abdullah."

both great realities. One is a commonwealth of nations built up under the stress and strain of many centuries, through colonization or conquest or geographical adventure, held together, not by force, but by great ideals and by the development of democratic principles under a common loyalty to the heart of the Empire. The other is a vast empire of human hearts bound together by a common faith, a common hope, and, in these latter days, by a common peril, namely, the encroachment of Westernism and the invasion by Western powers of what was once a solid Mohammedan area. In their origin, world-wide extent, and mutual relationships, the boundaries of these two world empires run strangely athwart each other. Their areas and population are not only in juxtaposition, but they are often identical across wide stretches of the two greatest continents. Again and again there seem to have been parallel tendencies in the course of history, and a directing Providence is unmistakable. One is reminded of the lines of the Arab poet, Ibn-al-Faridh:

"Not in vain the nation-strivings, nor by chance the currents flow;
Error-mazed, yet truth-directed, to their certain goal they go."

The present number of Mohammedans in the world is put conservatively at 233,000,000. Of these, 100,829,571 live in British possessions or protectorates, or under some form of government controlled by Great Britain. No other European government has even one-third as many Moslem subjects as has the British Empire. France has 32,000,000 in Africa and Asia; while the Netherlands count 40,000,000, more or less, in the Dutch East Indies. In Asiatic Russia there are about 15,000,000 Russian Mohammedans; while under the

American Government in the Philippine Islands the total number of Mohammedans is only 586,999. In Africa there are still 25,910,000 Mohammedans under the British flag or British Mandates, chiefly in Uganda, Nyasaland, Egypt, Soudan, Kenya, Tanganyika, Nigeria, East and South Africa, and West Africa. In Asia, 78,788,000, chiefly in India, but also in Arabia, Borneo, Sarawak, Ceylon, the Straits, the Federated Malay States, Cyprus, Mesopotamia, and Palestine. In Australia there are 25,000 Moslems; and in the British possessions of South America, 53,000. These facts are given in greater detail in the accompanying table. We use round numbers.

MOSLEMS UNDER BRITISH GOVERNMENT, MANDATE OR OCCUPATION

Central and South America	
Guiana	24,800
Jamaica	3,000
Trinidad	26,000
	53,800
Africa	
Uganda	73,000
Nyasaland	50,000
Egypt	11,658,148
Sudan	1,793,000
Kenya	427,000
Tanganyika	1,276,600
Zanzibar and Pemba	183,600
Basutoland, Bechuanaland, Rhodesia, Swaziland	9,035
Union of South Africa	45,842

Nigeria	7,833,000
Gambia	28,800
Gold Coast	101,400
Sierra Leone	300,000
Togoland	500,000
Cameroons	578,000
Somaliland	300,000
	25,157,425

Asia

Aden and Perim	54,000
Sokotra and Kuria Muria	12,000
Bahrein Islands	109,000
Borneo	162,500
Brunei	23,900
Sarawak	150,000
Ceylon	302,000
Maldive Islands	70,199
India and Dependencies	70,000,000
Straits Settlements	258,719
Federated Malay States	420,840
Protected Malay States	758,060
Cyprus	56,428
Mesopotamia	2,640,700
Palestine	600,000
	75,618,346

Totals

Central and South America	53,800
Africa	28,157,425
Asia	75,618,346
Total	100,829,571

As Karl Ritter pointed out, the metropolis of the British sea dominion lies at the central point of the land hemisphere of the earth. And this dominion stretches

across the Mohammedan world from Gibraltar to Aden, Bombay, Singapore, and Hong Kong. Sir Frederick Lugard, in an address before the Royal Colonial Institute, November 14th, 1922, stated that, "In so far as lateral expansion is concerned, the growth of the empire has been great during the last two decades of the nineteenth and the first two of the twentieth century. Its area in 1880 was 8,644,000 square miles. It now covers 13,388,000, according to figures supplied by the Board of Trade, whose estimate is lower than that of the textbooks. The Great War has added to its responsibilities in Mesopotamia, Palestine, Africa, and the Far Pacific, an area aggregating nearly a million square miles and eight millions of population. In these four decades the empire population has increased from two hundred and seventy-one millions to four hundred and forty-seven millions, or over sixty per cent. The empire now comprises considerably more than a quarter of its land surface."

Such a vast outreach of empire adds a colossal burden of responsibility to a nation that has always been in the van, as a missionary people, in which the churches, both the Established Churches and the Free Churches, have been leaders in the missionary movement. Britain, too, has often stood in the breach of international complications as the apostle of peace. Since the close of the World War, one of the outstanding facts in the study of politics seems to be that the former doctrines of imperialism are to-day impossible. Whatever may have taken place in the past of exploitation or oppression of native races by any Western government, the principles of international law, vindicated on the battlefields of Europe and forming the ideals of the League of Nations and the International Court of Jus-

tice, enunciate the truth, in the case of nations as well as of individuals, that from those to whom much is given, much will justly be required.

"Recent events," said the Bishop of Ripon, Dr. E. A. Burroughs, "have shown at once that we are losing our former sense of imperial mission, the instinct to take up the 'White Man's Burden;' and that our former imperial methods will not work to-day. 'He that will be great among you let him be the servant of all.' This, if we are to regain our former leadership, must be the new keynote of the British Commonwealth. Already we are finding that without the Christian missionary impulse we shall be hard put to it to staff our Indian Empire, while only Christian-hearted officials can really serve either Britain or India to-day. I believe that, if all the facts could be assessed, it would be found that the empire is held together only by the Christian element in its tradition, by the Christian character of some of its representatives, government officials, sailors, soldiers, merchants, and the like, and, most of all, by the Christian missionaries in all lands who are the most effectual servants of the imperial ideal."

In a study of the relation of the British Empire to the world of Islam from the missionary standpoint, we are not unmindful of the existence of many great and grave difficulties, but these do not remove the responsibility for the performance of arduous duties or diminish the call of destiny for their fulfilment.

For a fair judgment of the considerations which are to follow we need to realize the difficulties that are inevitable in the adjustment of the mutual relationships of these two Empires. The Islamic world includes some of the strongest, most virile, conquering and independent tribes and races, for example, the population

of northern India, the Arabs, the Malays, the Turks, and the Hausas. Generally speaking, although the Moslem world is distinguished for its large percentage of illiteracy and consequent superstition, its peoples exercise marvellous politeness and hospitality. They are noted for cheerfulness and patience,—not the patience of perseverance, which they too often lack, but the patience of endurance. One who travels with the Arabs and sees them in their hunger, their cold, and their nakedness, ever-cheerful and patient, because all things come from Allah, can only marvel at their strength of character. On the other hand, they have an innate utter conservatism and an unwillingness to change the path of the fathers, whether it run through the desert or through their own minds and hearts. They possess a fierce religiousness. They do not repeat their creed, but shout it. Within their psychology God finds the supreme place and everything is interpreted under the constant realism of an ardent theism. As Mr. Winston Churchill put it in one of his addresses, "The Middle East is inordinately stocked with peppery, pugnacious, proud politicians and theologians, who happen to be at the same time extremely well armed and extremely hard up."

In addition to this racial difficulty we have ever present the political theory of Islam, which necessarily clashes with the idea of constitutional liberty and the ideals of democracy. The Moslem theory of government, as is well known, is based not only upon the Koran but upon tradition and two other sources derived from the foregoing, namely, *Ijma'a* (or agreement) and *Qiyas* (or deduction). The canon law of Islam is the law of God; and the masses of the people constantly have this law in their subconscious minds,

whatever be the government under which they are living.

Now we may fondly imagine that such laws have long ago been abrogated by the entrance of Western governments, or through reform movements and the growth of a spirit of tolerance; but the theory as theory remains, and can be called into exercise by an appeal to fanaticism, when anyone is bold enough to ask whether Allah's law is not supreme.

Again, the social system of Islam as embodied in its cult and culture does not fit particularly well with Anglo-Saxon standards. It is sufficient to mention slavery and the slave trade, which are Moslem religious privileges, the low position of women, polygamy, banking in all its departments, and modern sanitation, in so far as it conflicts with Moslem tradition on the subject of method and occasion for daily ablutions. On the other hand, if the slave trade offends the Christian conscience, the liquor traffic offends that of the Moslem;[1] not to speak of the serious misunderstanding of Western standards of morals, occasioned by the sensational cinema, the low-grade theatre, and extreme or immodest styles of female dress. If we would see

[1] Islam is a religion that inculcates absolute prohibition of intoxicants, although it has never been able to enforce its teaching among Turks and other European races. But the influence of Western civilization, the evils incident to an army of occupation, the impossibility of control of the liquor traffic because of laws of ex-territoriality for the Levantines who largely conduct this business,—all these have led to a constant increase in the use of intoxicants. Within the city limits of Cairo there were, in December, 1919, no less than 687 public establishments for selling liquor. According to government returns of the previous five years, the import value of intoxicating liquors for Egypt was as follows: In 1914, £308,396; 1915, £461,891; 1916, £511,456; 1917, £593,618; and in 1918, £796,328. These figures, showing an increase in value during the war of 160 per cent., speak for themselves.

ourselves as others see us, it is such questions as these that deserve sympathetic study.

Lord Cromer held that as a political and social system, " Islam is moribund, and that its gradual decay cannot be arrested by any modern palliatives, no matter how skillfully they may be applied." [2] If this be true, the bridging of the chasm between the small percentage of the literate and educated Moslems and the vast majority who still live under the old sanctions will not be easy. Professor D. B. Macdonald, one of the leading students of Islamic questions, is of the opinion that the foundations of religious belief among Moslems must inevitably be sapped by the new forces.

" Unless all signs deceive," he writes, " there lies before the Moslem peoples a terrible religious collapse. Islam as a religion is not holding its own against the unbelief that is flooding in from the European civilization. Young men are growing up into crass and material forms of atheism; forms that the best intellectual life of Europe has itself thrown off. And as education spreads and deepens, as history vindicates for itself its place, as the moral feeling becomes more watchful and sensitive, so the legend of Mohammed will crumble and his character be seen in its true light. And with Mohammed the entire fabric must go. It is, then, for the Christian schools and preachers to save these peoples, not only for Christianity, but for any religion at all; to vindicate to them the claims upon their lives of religion in the broadest sense." [3]

Accentuating these fundamental differences and difficulties is the rise of present-day nationalism and of the passion for self-determination which demands im-

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[2] *Modern Egypt,* one-volume edition, p. 602.
[3] *Aspects of Islam,* pp. 12-13.

mediate and full admission to the privileges and responsibilities of independent statehood. Egypt, India, and Mesopotamia illustrate this tendency. In none of these lands, however, do Moslems realize in their demands that the growth of democracy can only be gradual—" first the blade, then the ear; after that the full corn in the ear."

This restlessness under foreign rule and passion for complete independence is largely dominated by the religious motive. Sometimes this is expressed with blunt boldness, as recently in the Kemalist newspaper, *Pevan Sabad,* which, addressing the Turkish army at the time of the Smyrna tragedy, said:

" And thou, the Army of the Creator and the Just! Every time you massacre a Greek you are pulling down one of the corner-stones of the British Empire. Therefore, for God's sake massacre, for the love of your country massacre, in revenge of your dead brethren massacre, in the name of crying humanity massacre, for the salvation of the world." [4]

But often where the expression is far more moderate in tone, the attitude is equally unmistakable. In an address on the Caliphate given by a Moslem at Karachi, India, we read:

" Moslem hearts, I know, are lacerated to-day. Many of you, I know, feel depressed. In my heart is sorrow, yet a mighty hope. I hope the day is coming when India will be free and Islam will be free. The reason for my hope? The great awakening of Asia. The spirit of awakening Asia is working through three great men: Kemal Pasha, Zaglul Pasha and Mahatma Gandhi. This is the tragedy of the

[4] Quoted in the *Manchester Guardian.*

British Empire; it has knocked its head against these three prophets of Asian emancipation. A beautiful saying of Mohammed is: 'He stands honoured before God who, having his enemy in his power, forgives him!' God grant strength that in the day of Islam's freedom and Asian emancipation, the Orient may think not of revenge but of forgiveness and may say to Europe, 'Thou hast sinned against me and the spirit of humanity, thou hast been ruthless and proud and greedy, I forgive thee in freedom's strength.'"

To all these difficulties, in themselves sufficiently baffling, we must add the Turk, who, once representing the Caliphate, still, after its violent abolition, incarnates to a large degree the objection of Moslems everywhere to Western overlordship. For six centuries he has played this rôle in the Near East, and has compelled Great Britain, sometimes unwillingly, to choose sides with Islam against Christian minorities in the struggle of the nations. Viscount Bryce once said:

"Why the Turkish Government, which in 1915 massacred a million of its Christian subjects, women and children as well as men, and treated the British prisoners whom it captured in Mesopotamia with an inhumanity that caused the death of more than half of the private soldiers; why, after these crimes, that Government should have been treated by the Allies with such extraordinary lenity, and should now have fresh indulgence offered to it by proposed modifications in the Treaty of Sevres—these are mysteries, the explanation of which is probably known to some of you as it is to me. But the secret is one which, as Herodotus says of some of those tales which he heard from the priests in Egypt, it would be improper for me to disclose."

When we turn from difficulties to duties which are

mutual and cannot be escaped, we face facts, not theories. The relationship of those who govern to those who are governed implies mutual obligations under any theory of government, most of all under the democratic forms; because then they are individual as well as corporate. The Moslems of India, of the Federated Malay States, of Egypt, Palestine, the Sudan, and Nigeria owe a debt of gratitude to Great Britain which it would be difficult to exaggerate, and which the impartial historian will record indelibly in spite of prejudice or denials on the part of those who are unacquainted with the facts. On economic lines these countries have been wonderfully developed. Land values have enormously increased, highways and railways built, commerce and trade encouraged by the policy of the open door, and impartial justice administered.

Arabia is an outstanding example of the benefits to the world at large of a Pax Britannica. British ships a century since, and afterwards British gunboats, explored the coasts of Arabia from Aden to Maskat, and from Maskat all the way to Busrah. The hydrographic charts used to-day by all the powers were prepared in those early days by Captain Constable and others, and you will find on the corner of all the charts of the Indian Ocean, the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea, the witness of that early exploration which mapped out the highways of the Near East. Great Britain also has won her right to the coasts of Arabia by the suppression of piracy. All the east coast of Arabia, especially the southeast coast of Oman, once consisted of pirate nests until the British navy taught the Arabs to observe the laws of the civilized world. The treaties made beween the Indian Government and the peoples on the south coast and the east coast of

Arabia were the beginning of economic progress and the beginning of real civilization for all that part of the world. That history has not yet been told. A Frenchman has recently written a book on the Persian Gulf in which he pays a high tribute to the civilizing influence of the British navy in those early days which followed the history of the Portuguese East India Company and the Dutch East India Companies.

Yet Britain never annexed a port in all those years; she simply patrolled the seas; not a single place was marked British on the map. The first place in all Arabia to become British was Aden, which was annexed to the empire in 1837, the year of Queen Victoria's accession to the throne. So, for over a hundred years, the Persian Gulf has had a share in the British Empire by exploration, by the costly preparation of hydrographic charts, by the suppression of piracy and the slave trade; and since 1837, the Aden protectorate has been one of the great foci of that vast ellipse which covers British trade and British enterprise in the Near East. The British have, since the occupation of Busrah and Baghdad, made Mesopotamia an Arabian kingdom; Oman is a protectorate, under the Sultan at Maskat. The tribes of Hadramaut and the tribes along the Oman littoral are all closely bound to the British by treaty. Aden is a British protectorate. So, for all practical purposes, except for the Akhwan indigenous movement, led by Ibn Sauod, which is religious in character, the coastal areas of Arabia have only one dominant power, and that is Great Britain. For better or for worse, these million square miles of territory from Baghdad all the way to Aden at present have no foreign domination except it be the power and influence

of the British Empire. If the Arabs need a friendly ally, could they find any better?

When we come to Egypt the story is too well known to need repetition. The first actual political power exercised by Britain in Egypt was after the bombardment of Alexandria and the occupation in 1882, although long before that Great Britain claimed her share in the Suez Canal, which can best be designated as the jugular vein of the British Empire. It unites the two extremes of empire—far-off Australia, India, Singapore, and the Straits Settlements, all this vast population, including also the city of Hong Kong, through one narrow gateway, with the British Isles and Great Britain across the seas. That narrow gateway, the Suez Canal, is undoubtedly the most strategic place of the whole British Empire. To be wounded there is to suffer a death-blow. To lose that is to lose everything as far as the connection and bond of empire goes; and so to the outsider it seems logical that the occupation of 1882 should have become a protectorate during the war. Later came the Declaration of Independence for Egypt with reservations.

The policy of Great Britain has been, not that of hard and fast authority, but of tactful accommodation and readjustment of political relationships. Sir Frederic Lugard, a great authority on Nigeria, did not exaggerate when he contrasted the old Roman Empire with the British Empire in these words:

"The Roman Empire—the greatest that the world has known before our own—was the outcome of a thirst for military glory, since, as Gibbon says, 'Mankind bestows more liberal applause upon their destroyers than on their benefactors.' Its characteristics were centralization and

military organization. The characteristic of the British Commonwealth is the exact reverse. Its keynote is decentralization and peaceful development—moral and material. To our race it has been given to build up an Empire on the basis of freedom and to lead the way in representative and democratic institutions. It is now slowly but surely evolving a new form of empire—a Commonwealth of Nations, animated by the same ideas of liberty, recognizing the same fundamental principles of law and justice."

Economic development and common justice, however, are not the sole nor the highest benefits of a Christian civilization. It includes intellectual and spiritual rights and achievements. One of the Mohammedan papers in Cairo, criticizing the British educational policy, put it in a sentence: "Quoting from the words of your Saviour, 'Man shall not live by bread alone'—man shall not live by irrigation alone, but by education." If the educational policy of Great Britain in the Nile Valley had been adequate, would it be possible for illiteracy among women and girls to be still over ninety-nine per cent., and that of the male population over ninety per cent.? Sometimes we fear that the type of education given was sadly inopportune and not fitted to inculcate principles of democracy, of self-help, and self-determination. Education produced annually a large crop of government clerks and men who desired government positions; whereas the country, being agricultural and in need of engineers for irrigation and of those skilled in the scientific rotation of crops, should have had a type of education such as, for example, that in the Tuskegee Institute or the Hampton Institute of the Southern States, U. S. A.—an education which dignifies labour, which produces men with technical knowledge for the everyday walks of life, and

not merely men who are ambitious and eager to have a part in the government of the country.

Among other obligations on the part of Moslems to British rule, or of the British toward their Moslem subjects, we may enumerate the exercise of authority, of discipline, of swift justice for those who, still unfit for self-government, attempt a Bolshevist program to rectify imaginary wrongs, loyalty to the ideals of government and to those who execute its demands, freedom of speech and of the press, freedom of conscience for all men, whatever their religion, and the abolishing of the mediæval laws of apostasy which restrict the right of person and property on the part of a convert to Christianity.

Why should there be a compromise of the fundamental principles of Christian ethics or British common law for the sake of Moslem prejudices? It is difficult to appreciate the necessity of such statutes as, for example, the old regulations, now almost a dead letter, recorded in chapter 19, section 1, of the Government Regulations for the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan: "No mission station is allowed to be formed north of the tenth parallel of latitude in any part or district of the Sudan which is recognized by the Government as Moslem." What justification can there be for the continuance of such a state, if the Sudan is a part of the British Empire? No surer method for the complete Islamization of the Sudan and its pagan tribes could be found than that pursued in the educational policy of the Anglo-Egyptian Government outlined in their code for primary schools.[5] On pages 22 and 23 we find a list of the textbooks and courses for primary schools. Islam

[5] Soudan Printing Press, Khartoum, 1914.

is made the state religion, and where formerly the knowledge of its precepts was superficial, the rising generation is carefully trained after the fashion of the old Islamic schools in Egypt. The logical outcome of such a policy in education and in the delimitation of missionary freedom, is the giving of grants for mosques. Concerning this, a correspondent in *The Near East* wrote, " The solemn assurance at the time of the British Occupation—' There will be no interference whatever in your religion '—has not only been faithfully kept, but the administration has, upon numerous occasions, taken pains to manifest its deep sympathy with the Moslem population, and to encourage their religious observances. Thus we find that the provision of mosques throughout the country has received much practical assistance in the form of donations of money and the granting of building sites." Already over six hundred mosques exist in the Sudan, and the number is being continually increased. On the Upper Nile, the Bahr-el-Ghazal and Mongalla, there were no mosques in existence before 1906.

Commenting on this policy, one who has spent many years in the Sudan as a missionary, says:

" The only real props of Islam left are the Christian powers who, for political purposes, are keeping from decent burial what might still infect a considerable portion of humanity, and keep salvation—that is soul-health—from reaching the soul-sick millions of our fellow-men, for whom Christ died."

Another missionary, writing from Nigeria, asked this question:

" Why are the Mohammedans of Northern Nigeria to be

singled out of all King George's subjects and prevented from even hearing about the Christian religion that has done so much for others of their race? Even on purely political grounds one cannot but have grave doubts of the wisdom of thus helping to consolidate and extend the Mohammedan power in this recently conquered protectorate, when it is an open secret that many of the Mohammedan ruling class would be only too glad to be rid of the British altogether."

Many British officials, it is true, are the slaves of circumstances and the victims of a policy that is not of their own choosing—a policy, we might add moreover, which in many cases has been modified since the war. For example, what more could missions desire than the provision made for religious liberty in Article 12 of the new Anglo-Iraq Treaty, "No measure shall be taken in Iraq to obstruct or interfere with missionary enterprise or to discriminate against any missionary on the ground of his religious belief or nationality, provided that such enterprise is not prejudicial to public order and good government."

It was signally proved during the war that the missionaries in Arabia were an asset in maintaining public order, good government, and mutual understanding. Colonel Harold F. Jacobs refers to it once and again in his book, *Kings of Arabia*.[6] Missionary societies throughout the Moslem world ask for no government favours, but they protest against government discrimination. Their prayer is only that the Word of God may have free course and be glorified. The missionaries, too, are conscious of being ambassadors of an empire still wider in its outreach,—one founded

[6] Pp. 95 and 260. Sir Percy Cox has given the same testimony regarding the missionaries at work in East Arabia and Mesopotamia.

centuries before either the British Empire or the Empire of Islam. This empire of Christ has no frontiers and is to have no end. All mandates involve colossal responsibility, but no mandate is so absolute and imperial as that given on Olivet. The history of Christian missions proves God's overruling Providence. The hand of destiny indicates the goal in the pathway of duty.

It would be a tragedy for all the Near East, for West and East Africa, the Federated Malay States and Arabia, if Britain shirked her duty and withdrew her hand. Life is not a mere game of chance—

> *"a chequer-board of nights and days*
> *Where destiny with men for pieces plays."*

The shadow of the Cross rests on all history, which is His story who hung on it. The "one far-off divine event to which the whole creation moves" is symbolized also on the Union Jack—the cross of Saint George, the cross of Saint Patrick, and the cross of Saint Andrew. Do they not represent the victory of Calvary and the call to evangelize the world? Saint Andrew found his brother; Saint Patrick preached to the pagans; and Saint George was worthy of sainthood only because of his defence of helpless womanhood and childhood. We read on the coin of the British realm, "*Fidei Defensor*"—Defender of the Faith. Whose faith? "Do the rulers know indeed that this is the very Christ?"

III

COULD MOHAMMED READ AND WRITE?

WHETHER Mohammed could read or write has for centuries been a controverted question. To-day most Moslems deny it; some, however, affirm it, but we are especially interested in the denial, because it is generally used to fortify their argument for the miraculous character of the Koran.

In investigating this question anew, we are not unmindful that our sources, viz., Mohammedan traditions, are no longer considered so authoritative as they once were. As Hurgronje says, this illusion has been disturbed by Prince Cætani and Father Lammens.

> " According to them, even the data which had been pretty generally regarded as objective, rest chiefly upon tendentious fiction. The generations that worked at the biography of the prophet were too far removed from his time to have true data or notions; and, moreover, it was not their aim to know the past as it was, but to construct a picture of it as it ought to have been, according to their opinion."

But while we may know less by the standards of trustworthy tradition, we know more of the conditions in Arabia and the life at Mecca, thanks to the investigations of Wellhausen, Wüstenfeld, Cheikho, Lammens, Huart and others.

I

The art of reading and writing was fairly common

at Mecca at the time of Mohammed's birth. According to later Moslem tradition, the science of writing was not known in Mecca until introduced by Harb, the father of Abu Sufian, the great opponent of Mohammed, about A. D. 560! But this is evidently an error, for close intercourse existed long before this between Mecca and Yemen, through caravan trade, and in Yemen writing was well known for centuries. In another tradition Abd al Muttalib is said to have written to Medina for help in his younger days, *i. e.*, about A. D. 520. Both Jews and Christians also dwelt in the vicinity of Mecca for two hundred years before the Hegira, and used some form of writing.

"It is evident that writing of some sort," says Muir, "was known and practised at Mecca long before A. D. 560. At all events, the frequent notices of written papers leave no room to doubt that Arabic writing was well known, and not uncommonly practised there in Mahomet's early days. I cannot think with Weil, that any great want of writing materials could have been felt, even by the poorer Moslems in the early days of Islam. Reeds and palm-leaves would never be wanting."

He quotes an account from Katib al Waqidi, showing that Mecca was far in advance of Medina in the art of writing, so that after the battle of Bedr many of the Meccan prisoners were compelled to teach the art of writing to the children of Medina. Each captive was assigned ten boys, and their tuition, when completed, was to be accepted as a full ransom.[1]

Hartmann also, in a long note,[2] shows that writing was very common in Yemen and North Arabia, and

[1] *Cf.* Muir, Vol. I, p. viii and Vol. III, p. 123.
[2] *Der Islamische Orient,* Vol. II, p. 425.

reading and writing was not uncommon. Letters were written by the order of Mohammed to foreign rulers, and we even hear of a correspondence kept up in Hebrew with the Jews. (See Abu Daoud under the heading *Reports from the Ahl-al-kitab.*)

Among the wives of the prophet we are sure that at least Ayesha and Hafasa could read and write. The frequent mention of " writing " and " the book " in the Koran (240 times) is striking in this connection, especially if the speaker of the words was himself wholly unacquainted with either writing or reading, and did not have an abundance of material. The Meccans, in fact, like the Egyptians in their fondness for writing, used all possible materials. Our information is fairly extensive and is derived from an account of the missionary epistles sent out by the prophet and of the collection of the Koran. The chief materials were leather, palm-leaf, the broad shoulder-blades of the camel (these are still used in Oman, Arabia, in the day schools), potsherds, flat white stones, wooden tablets, parchment and papyrus.[11] Moritz says, " It may be regarded as certain that in a commercial town like Petra, the art of writing was in common use at the beginning of the third century." [12]

In view of the facts given above and the statement that Mohammed himself had so many secretaries, there were doubtless more than seventeen persons in the religious capital, with its large pilgrim traffic, who were literate. Mohammed himself was a most intelligent man, and had acted for a long time as mercantile agent for Khadijah. When we remember what this involves in wholesale caravan traffic with distant Syria,

[11] *Encyclopœdia of Islam,* Art. " Arabic."
[12] *Ibid.*

rock inscriptions, as well as in documents, owe their origin to Christians. Berger writes: "*L'écriture Arabe existait avant Mahomet, elle a été chrétienne avant d'être musulmane.*"[5] And Wellhausen affirms the same: "*Die Christen haben das Arabischen wol zuerst als schriftsprache gebraucht. Namentlich die Ibaedier von Hira und Anbar scheinen sich in dieser Beziehung Verdienste erworben zu haben.*"[6]

We also read in the Aghani[7] the tradition above quoted that Waraqa bin Naufal wrote portions of the Gospel record in Hebrew letters. Cheikho goes on to show that a great number of Koran words, especially the names and attributes of God, the terms used in regard to the rewards and punishment of the future life, and the religious vocabulary in general (which are usually attributed to Mohammed's genius) all occur in pre-Islamic Christian poetry.[8]

Moslem tradition is in this respect unreliable. We are told, for example, that at Mecca at the time of the prophet only seventeen men were able to write! Their names are preserved for us by al-Baladhuri (see last chapter Arabic edition of the text, Cairo, 1901). This statement seems very improbable, not to say, impossible. The Fath-ul-Bari mentions the names of the amanuenses of the prophet[9] and says they numbered no less than forty-two.[10] While this may be an exaggeration, it certainly seems to prove that the art of

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[5] *Histoire de l'Ecriture Chrétienne en Arabie avant l'Islam,* p. 287.

[6] *Reste Arabischen Heidentums,* p. 232.

[7] 3:14.

[8] See his book, *Le Christianisme et la Literature Chrétienne en Arabie avant l'Islam,* Vol. II, pp. 158-195.

[9] Vol. IX, p. 19.

[10] Casanova in *Mohammed et la Fin du Monde,* pp. 96-97, gives their names from five different authorities.

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[11] *Encyclopædia of Islam,* Art. " Arabic."
[12] *Ibid.*

it is not unnatural to suppose that he may have had opportunity to learn to read and to write.[13] He might even have learned the art from two of his wives.

II

On what, then, is the general Mohammedan denial of their prophet's ability to read or write based? On one word, "*ummi,*" used six times in the Koran, and on one obscure passage where the Angel Gabriel bids him "read" (*iqra*) and he replies, "I am not a 'reader.'" Let us examine the words used, and see whether their significance by derivation or usage will bear the weight of the interpretation that has become current, or whether it contradicts it.

The word (*ummi*) occurs six times in the Koran. We copy the passages in order and follow Palmer's translation (and mistranslation).

The chapter of the Heifer (II, v. 74): "and some of them are *illiterate* folk that know not the book but only idle tales."

The chapter of Imran's family (III, v. 19): "and say to those who have been given the book and unto the *Gentiles,* are ye too resigned?"

The chapter of *Al 'Araf* (VII, vs. 155, 158): "who follow the apostle the *illiterate prophet;* whom they find written down for them in the law and the gospel. . . . Believe thou then in God and His apostle the *illiterate prophet* who believes in God and in His words."

The chapter of the Congregation (LXII, v. 2): "He it is who sent unto the *Gentiles* a prophet amongst themselves to recite to them His signs and to purify

[13] Margoliouth, *Mohammed,* pp. 67-69, shows that he even had a shop at Mecca and kept accounts.

them and to teach them the book and wisdom, although they were before in obvious error." [14]

The words in italics in these passages are all the translations of one root-word in Arabic, *ummi.* Palmer hesitates to render them all with the word "gentile," although his comment on chapter III, v. 19, shows his opinion: "Mohammed seems to have borrowed the expression from the Jews; *ummiyyun,* having the same significance as the Hebrew *goyim.*" [15]

Lane (Arabic Dictionary, Vol. I, p. 92), who has collected the views of the Arabic lexicographers, begins by saying:

"*Ummi* properly means *gentile*—in a secondary sense a heathen; one not having a revealed scripture; or belonging to the nation of the Arabs, who did not write nor read, and therefore metaphorically applied to anyone not knowing the art of writing nor that of reading. Mohammed was termed *ummi,* meaning a gentile, as distinguished from an Israelite; according to most of his followers, meaning illiterate. Some assert that Mohammed became acquainted with writing after he had been unacquainted therewith, referring to the Koran (XXIX:47), where it is said, 'Thou didst not read before it from a book, nor didst thou write it with thy right hand.'"

Rodwell also, in a note on Chapter VII, 157, expresses the opinion that the word *ummi* (illiterate) is equivalent to the Greek *ethnic* and the Hebrew word *goyim,* and was applied by the Jews to those unacquainted with the Scriptures. He says:

"There could be no doubt that Mohammed in spite of

[14] All of these are Medina verses except VII, 155-158.
[15] Palmer, Vol. I, p. 48.

his assertions to the contrary, with a view to proving his inspirations, was well acquainted with the Bible histories. He wished to appear ignorant in order to raise the elegance of the Koran into a miracle."

Whether this be so or not, the manner in which this expression is thrown into the verse and the whole context raise the conjecture which, as Dr. Wherry points out, becomes almost a certainty that " this appellation came originally from the Jews, who used it in expressing their contempt for the Gentile prophet. Mohammed would readily adopt the name under the circumstances." [16]

Regarding the meaning of the word *ummi,* Al-Tabari says (Vol. III, 142), commenting on the word in Sura Alu 'Imran: " The *ummiyyun* are those among the Arabs who have no revelation." We read in the Arabic dictionary, *Taj al Aroos,* that Mohammed was not altogether illiterate, but that " he could not distinguish between good and bad writing." We are also told that some traditions state that he learned to read and write after he became a prophet.

In the commentary called *al-Khazin* (Vol. II, 146) the following interpretation of the word *ummi* shows the growth of the legend. " The prophet could neither read nor write *nor cypher,* and this the authorities are agreed is an evidence of the greatest miracle in the case of the Koran."

Fahr al-Razi, however (Vol. VIII, 149), in commenting on Chapter VII:2, says: " *Ummi* means re-

[16] " In *any* Arabic dictionary if we take *all* the meanings and *all* the derived forms from the root word *amma=qasada* we cannot anyhow arrive at 'illiterate.' Not a shade, not a vestige of authority do we find, except the Koran Commentators, who naturally had a theory to support."

lated to the people of the Arabs, because they are an *ummi* people, who have no book, and do not read a book or write." Ibn Abbas says the meaning is, " those who have no book and no prophet sent unto them." He reiterates this explanation on Sura III, 19, but in obscure phrases (Vol. II, 426).

Al-Tabari is more definite in his comment (Vol. XXVIII, 61) on the same verse: " The people of Mohammed were called *ummiyyun* because no revelation had come to them." This shows very clearly that the word *ummi* does not mean illiterate, but *Gentile.* While on Sura III, 19, he says (Vol. III, 143), " Those to whom the Book (Revelation) came among the Jews and Christians and the *ummiyŭn, who have no book,* the Arab polytheists."

Baidhawi (Vol. I, 150) interprets: " The *ummi* is he who neither reads nor writes." The commentary called *al-Khazin* says (Vol. II, 147): " The *ummi* is he who is like the Arabs or the people of the Arabs because most of them neither write nor read." Then goes on to quote a tradition according to which Mohammed said: " We are an *umma* (people) *ummiyya:* we neither write nor cypher " (*sic*).

Fakhr al-Razi says: " Concerning the word in question the learned differ in regard to the meaning of it: some of them say that *ummi* is he who does not confess belief in a book nor in an apostle. Others say it is he who does not know how to read and write skillfully. This second significance is more credited because there were *ummi* among the Jews, and they believed in a book and an apostle; and also because Mohammed himself said we are a people *ummi:* we do not write and we do not cypher " (Vol. I, 309).

The new Islam leaders are also perplexed in regard

to this problem. Mohammed Ali, in his translation of *The Holy Koran* (Woking, 1917), commenting on chapter II:76, says that the word *ummiyyun* is specially applied to the Arabs who were generally unacquainted with reading and writing. He strongly objects to the definition of the word as given by Rodwell and Lane. In a long footnote (No. 950) he protests that the word *ummi* can never mean gentile, and says that Lane's conclusion in his dictionary " is entirely without foundation."

In another passage, however (Suratu 'l-Jumu'ah), he himself translates the same word as *Meccan,* and his conclusion (page 362) is that there is ground for believing that Mohammed could write after revelation came to him, although he still had his letters written by scribes. In the Preface to the same work there is a long, although very lame argument, to prove that " The Holy Prophet left at his death a complete written Koran with the same arrangement of the verses and the chapters that we now have."

There are indications, we admit, in the Koran that some of its chapters existed in written form at a very early date. For example, Sura 56:77, " None shall touch it (the written copy) save the purified." Also the account of the conversation of Omar, who discovered a written copy of an entire chapter—the twentieth —in the house of Fatima. Why could not Mohammed himself have written it?

III

Orientalists are disagreed on the subject. In discussing the question whether Mohammed used written sources for his " revelations," Otto Pautz gives a list of authorities who have expressed an opinion on the

question whether Mohammed could read and write, *pro* and *con*.[17]

Otto Pautz himself leaves the question unsettled; his argument being that the question of Mohammed's use of written sources once closed, the other is unimportant.

Nöldeke[18] shows that the word *ummi* is everywhere used in the Koran in apposition to *ahl-ul-kitab*, that is, the possessors of the Sacred Scriptures: therefore it cannot signify one who does not read and write; but (as we have seen from the Arabic authorities themselves) one who did not possess or who had no access to former revelations. Nöldeke, although he admits that Mohammed had no access to the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments as we understand them, says that the question of Mohammed's illiteracy is confused, because the references given by Moslems on this point are contradictory. The common tradition, he goes on to show, is due not because men were in search of the truth but rather it was manufactured to establish dogmatic or political opinions. Generally speaking, the Sunnis deny his ability to read and write, while the Shias affirm it.

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[17] Those who affirm it: M. Turpin, *Histoire de la vie de Mahomet*, I, pp. 285-88; Boulainvilliers, S. 232 Anm.; S. F. G. Wahl, *D. Koran*, Ein. S. LXXVIII f.; A. Sprenger, *D. Leb. u. d. Lehre des Mohammed*, II. S. 398-402; G. Weil, *Hist. krit. E. in d. Koran*, 2 Aufl. S. 39 Anm. I; H. Hirschfeld, *Judische Elemente im Koran*, Berlin, 1878, S. 22.

Those who deny it he gives as follows: Marracci, Ref. p. 535; M. Prideaux, *La vie de Mahomet*, p. 43; S. Ockley, *The History of the Saracens*, 3rd ed.; *The Life of Mahomet*, p. 11; C. F. Gerock, *Vers. e. Darst d. Christologie des Koran*, S. 9; A. P. Caussin de Perceval, a. a. O. i., p. 353; J. M. Arnold, *D. Islam*, S. 230; E. H. Palmer, *The Koran*, translt. I, Introduction, p. XLVII; L. Ullman, *D. Koran ubers*, S. 129. Anm. 4.—*Mohammed's Lehre von der Offenbarung*, Leipzig, 1898, p. 257.

[18] *Geschichte des Qurans*, p. 10.

Sprenger speaks of one, namely Mohammed bin Mohammed bin Nu'man (died A. H. 413), who wrote a book on the subject establishing the literacy of the prophet.[19]

The testimony of the Shiahs is summed up in the celebrated collection called *The Hyat-ul-Kuloob,* translated by the Rev. James L. Merrick, Boston, 1850, under the title *The Life and Religion of Mohammed.* He correctly states in his preface that this is the most popular standard work in Persian.

"In regard to the prophet's title of *ummi*, traditions are contradictory. Some say he was so styled because he could not read or write. Others maintain that it referred to his *ummet,* or sect, conveying the idea that he was like the illiterate Arabs. Another party insist that the title is taken from *umm* (mother), denoting that the prophet was as simple as a newborn infant. There are traditions which

[19] In this connection Professor A. J. Wensinck, of Leyden, wrote in a paper on Mohammed (*Acta Orientalia,* Vol. I, No. 1), as follows:

"Muhammed wird im Koran als *al-rasūl al-nabi al-ummi* oder auch als *al-rasūl fi'l-ummiyyīn* bezeichnet. Schwally hat richtig gesehen, dab *ummi* im Gegensatz zu den Schriftbesitzern steht und von *umma* abzuleiten ist. Er fügt aber hinzu: also= λαϊχός, aramäisch 'ālmāyā. Diese Bedeutung würde hier kaum passen. Umma heisst Volk und Gemeinde; da letztere Bedeutung hier ausgeschlossen ist, liegt es auf der Hand, *ummi* mit ἐθνιχός gleichzusetzen. Das passt vorzüglich: Muhammed bezeichnet sich also als apostel und Prophet aus den Heiden und für die Heiden.

"Das Wort *ummi* wird in den arabischen Korankommentaren verknüpft mit der Frage, ob Muhammed des Lesens und Schreibens kundig war. Diese Verknüpfung ist aus einem Misverständnis entsprungen. Sura 2, 73 wird von den Schriftbesitzern gesagt: 'Ein Teil von ihnen sind *ummiyyun,* sie kennen nicht die Schrift.' Es ist klar, das hier nicht die Lese und Schreibkunst, sondern das Verstehen der Heiligen Schrift gemeint ist. Schwally hat schon darauf hingewiesen, das die Sunnitische Koranauslegung behauptet, Muhammed sei illiterat gewesen; das diese Behauptung aber dogmatischer Natur ist, weil sie Muhammeds Verherrlichung bezweckt."

state that the title is derived from *Umm-ul-kora,* an epithet of Mekka, and consequently that *ummi* would signify Mekkaite. There is nothing contrary to the position that the prophet was never taught to read and write before his assumption of the prophetic office, and to this agrees a verse of the Koran, in which the Most High declares to him, 'Thou couldst not read any book before this; neither couldst thou write it with thy right hand; then had the gainsayers justly doubted of the divine original thereof' (Sura 29:47). Tradition is likewise contradictory whether he read and wrote after his assumption of the prophetical office, but there can be no doubt of his ability to do this, inasmuch as he knew all things by divine inspiration, and as by the power of God he could perform acts which were impossible to all others. He had his own wise reasons for not reading and writing himself, and generally ordered his attendants to read letters which he received. The Imam Jafer-as-Saduk reckons it a special favour of heaven that he was raised up among a people who, although they had letters, had no divine books and were therefore called *ummi.*

"It is related that a person inquired of the Imam Mohammed Taky, why the prophet was called *Ummi.* The *imam* demanded what the *Sunnis* said on this subject, and was answered,—That sect insisted he could not write. The *imam* gave them the lie, invoked a curse on them, and demanded how the prophet could be ignorant when he was sent to instruct others. . . . On the authority of the Imam Saduk, it is related that when Abu Sufian marched for Ohod, Abbas wrote to inform Mohammed of the fact. He received the letter when in the garden of Medina with some of his companions. After reading the communication he ordered the people about him to enter the city, and then disclosed to them the news. The same *imam* also certifies that the prophet read and wrote." [20]

[20] Merrick, *The Life and Religion of Mohammed as contained in the Sheeah Traditions of the Hyat-ul-Kuloob,* Boston, 1850, pp. 86-87.

Many educated Moslems in our day agree with the Shiahs that it would be unworthy of one who occupied so high a rank as God's messenger to be ignorant of the very elements of knowledge.

One of the traditions which the Shiahs advance is the celebrated incident in connection with the treaty made in the sixth year of the Hegira with the Quraish at a place near Mecca, named Hudaibiya. The account is preserved by Bukhari and Muslim (Vol. II, 170). Ibn Hisham has also recorded it at length in his *Siratu 'r-Rasul* (Vol. II, 175, ed. Bulac, 1295 A. H.). The former tells us that Ali was chosen as the prophet's amanuensis on this occasion, and that when Mohammed bade him write the words, "A treaty between Mohammed the Prophet of God and Suhail bin 'Amr," the latter objected to the term "Apostle of God," remarking that if the Quraish acknowledged that, there would be no necessity for opposition to Mohammed at all. The latter then turned to 'Ali and told him to cut out the words "Apostle of God" and write in their stead the words suggested by Suhail, viz.: "Son of Abdullah!" To this 'Ali objected, saying, "By God I will never cut it out." Then, the narrative proceeds, "The Apostle of God took the writing and though he did not write well, wrote what he had ordered ('Ali), viz., 'Mohammed, son of Abdullah.'" [21]

This account is also found in the commentary by Al Bagawi on chapter 48, verse 25, and at greater length in Tabari's *Al-Mawahib al-Laduniya*. The question, however, arises, as Nöldeke indicates, whether this even is positive proof that Mohammed could write.

[21] Caetani, *Annali dell'Islam*, Vol. I, pp. 716-717, gives the account and the references in full.

The word *kataba* is sometimes used to signify "dictated;" the text also may have been corrupted.

Nöldeke comes to the following conclusions:[22] (a) Mohammed desired to be known as one who did not understand reading and writing; he therefore employed a number of scribes and always had letters that came to him read out to him. (b) He did not have access to the Bible or other Christian books, least of all to a book entitled "*Asatir al-awalin.*" He proves that all the deductions of Sprenger regarding the use of this word in the Koran are at fault. The word is not derived from the Greek *historia,* but is a double plural from the Arabic *satr*—a line of script. (c) This does not exclude the fact that Mohammed used the oral traditions of Jews and Christians, as well as the unwritten traditions current among his own people.

The frequency with which Mohammed feels it necessary to resent the charge of the Meccan idolaters that the Koran was a book composed by fraud is certainly indicative that they must have known something of his methods and of his sources. In chapter XXV, verse 5, we read: "The unbelievers say, Verily, this Koran is a mere fraud of his own devising, and others have helped him with it who had come hither by pillage and lie; and they say these are tales of the ancients that he hath put in writing, and they were dictated to him morning and evening" (Palmer's translation).

Compare also Sura XVI, 105, where the same charge is made. In neither passage does Mohammed answer the charge *by saying that he can neither read nor write.*

Qastalani, according to Sprenger, gives the history of a dispute that took place in Spain in which the

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[22] *Geschichte des Qurans,* pp. 12-14.

philosopher Avenpace held that Mohammed could both read and write; although he was condemned as a heretic for holding this opinion. In one of the disputes that arose on this question, a Koran passage (Sura XXIX:46) was used by the Moslems themselves to show that although Mohammed could not read before revelation came to him, he was able afterwards both to read and to write. Sprenger gives other proofs, which are not so conclusive, although they are cumulative. He quotes traditions according to which Mohammed gave instructions to one of his scribes in words that prove his knowledge, not only of penmanship, but of calligraphy. How else could he have said: "Put down the ink-pot, cut the pen, divide the strokes of the *sîn* and do not lengthen the *mîm* so much"? He quotes the story in regard to the treaty at Hudaibiya, although the different versions do not agree in detail.

Ibn Abi Shaiba said: "The prophet knew how to read and write before he died. I have known people who have affirmed this." If this tradition is reliable, it is important, for Ibn Abi Shaiba died A. H. 105. The scene described by many authorities in the older biographies, and which took place three days before Mohammed's death on June 4, 632, would leave no doubt in the matter if we could trust Mohammedan tradition.

Shahrastani gives the words of the prophet used on this occasion as follows: "Bring the inkstand and a sheet, that I may write something, in order that you will not be misled after me." This tradition comes to us from the lips of an eye-witness and is preserved by different companions and their followers. There is no version of the tradition in which Mohammed does not express the wish that he himself should use the pen. (See Ibn Sa'ad, page 149, and Vol II, page 398, of

Sprenger's *Mohammed.* The latter gives a list of no less than nine *Isnads* for the tradition.)

We will now examine the so-called earliest chapter of the Koran (Sura 96), which has suffered from mistranslation due to a misconception of the story on which it is based. Hirschfeld [23] comments on the legend, after relating it, as follows:

"During my sojourn on Mount Hira," said the prophet, "the archangel Gabriel appeared to me, seized me, and said: *Iqra!* (proclaim). I replied, I am no proclaimer (reader). The angel seized me again and repeated: *Iqra'* . . . I said: I am no proclaimer. Finally he forced me to say: *Iqra' bismi rabbika.*"

"I did not translate the word *iqra* in my rendering of the legend, although I translated it in the verse by *proclaim,* my object being to call attention to the early misunderstanding of the word by traditionists and interpreters of the Koran as well as by modern translators and biographers of the prophet. For the sentence in question is nothing but an Arabic version of the phrase in the Pentateuch (Gen. 12:8, in connection with 4:26). 'He proclaimed the name of the Lord.'"

Strange to say, the authenticity of this tradition has not been questioned, although it is called not a vision but a dream by Ibn Ishak, al-Baghawi, al-Baidawi, and others.

If Hirschfeld gives the true translation, another argument used to prove that Mohammed was illiterate utterly disappears, for the tradition is evidently an explanation of the Koran text made later. The name of the angel Gabriel is not mentioned in any Meccan

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[23] *New Researches into the Composition and Exegesis of the Koran,* 1902, p. 18.

revelation at all and was at that period apparently unknown to Mohammed. The tradition could therefore not have arisen until many years later.

The uncertainty regarding the text and its significance, in the tradition mentioned, is clear when we consult the commentaries. For example, the author of *Fath-al-Bari* (Vol. I, p. 18), in his comment on Bukhari's text, states that "The meaning of the words *ma ana biqari* are 'I am not able to read well or readily.'" He goes on to say that the text itself is uncertain, and that according to one narrator, Mohammed did not say "I cannot read," nor "I am not a reader," but he said, "How can I read?" or again, according to another account: "What shall I read?"

All of this shows that the matter is uncertain, and God knows best, as the Moslems say.

Even if we admit that the word *iqra'* signifies to read a book, it is not at all certain that the reply of the prophet as given in the tradition signified, "I cannot read." Rather, as Sprenger shows (*Life of Mohammed,* Allahabad, 1851, p. 95), it signifies: "I am not reading at present."

Sprenger's arguments, although old, are not yet answered. He believes that Mohammed had access to portions of the genuine and some of the apocryphal Scriptures. Al-Tabari tells us that when Mohammed first gave his revelations even his wife Khadijah had read the Scriptures and was acquainted with the history of the Old Testament prophets.

"It is preposterous," Sprenger concludes, "to suppose that though the Arabs in the north and west of the Peninsula were Christians, and had a great number of monasteries, no translation of the Bible, or at least of a popular

work containing the scriptural history, was then extant in Arabic. When the Musulmans conquered Hira, they found in the citadel young priests, who were Arabs, engaged in multiplying copies of the Bible. I have above asserted that the words of a tradition of 'Aishah which made some persons believe that Waraqa first translated the Scriptures into Arabic, means simply that he knew how to write Arabic, and that he copied in Arabic parts of the Bible. I have since come into the possession of a copy of Al-Zarkashi's commentary on Al-Bukhari. This author confirms the reading which I have chosen by observing on the words, '*He used to write Hebrew.*' 'This is the reading of Al-Bukhari in this passage; but the reading in Muslim is, "He used to write Arabic;" and this is also the reading of Bukhari in the chapter on Dreams; and this must be received as the correct reading, because both Bukhari and Muslim agree on it.' He further observes on the words, '*He wrote the Gospel in Hebrew*'—the Qadhi says, this is the reading in this passage; but the correct reading is *in Arabic:* and this expression is an idiom. The reading in Muslim is also, '*He wrote the Gospel in Arabic.*'"

According to *Fath-al-Bari* (Vol. I, p. 19) Waraqa bin Naufal did not only read and write Arabic, but Hebrew as well. Moreover, Cheikho (p. 153) gives an account of how Zuhra bin Kilab, Mohammed's great-great-grandfather, wrote out the alphabet and taught it to others. Cheikho quotes from Baladhuri, who tells how the Arab merchants even in that day taught each other writing (*al-Khatt*). One of Mohammed's scribes, Zaid bin Thabit, learned the Hebrew characters in two weeks and carried on Mohammed's correspondence in it with the Jews (*Baladhuri,* p. 480, Cairo ed., 1901).[24]

[21] The reference is to the Arabic text of *Futuh-al-Buldan.* This passage at the close of the book is unfortunately omitted by Dr. Hitti in his translation of the work. (Columbia University, N. Y.)

There are two other important references to Mohammed's writing. In regard to the treaty between Mohammed and the Koreish at Hudaibiya known as the oath of Ridhwan, Muir (Vol. IV, p. 33) gives a long account; although he does not mention the fact that when 'Ali refused to write the words, *Mohammed, the Son of Abdullah,* that Mohammed himself wrote these words. The following, however, is the tradition according to Waqidi (Muir's footnote): Mohammed wrote at the foot of the treaty, "The same shall be encumbent upon us toward you."

The tradition in regard to Mohammed's calling for writing materials on his death-bed is given by Muir as follows:

"About this time, recognizing 'Omar, and some other chief men in the room, he called out, 'Bring hither to me ink and paper, that I may record for you a writing which shall prevent your going astray for ever.' 'Omar said, 'He wandereth in his mind, is not the Koran sufficient for us?' But the women wished that the writing materials should be brought, and a discussion ensued. Thereupon one said, 'What is his condition at this present moment? Come, let us see if he speaketh deliriously or not.' So they sent and asked him what his wishes were regarding the writing he had spoken of; but he no longer desired to indite it. 'Leave me thus alone,' he said, 'for my present state is better than that ye call me to.'

"When the women were about to bring the writing material, 'Omar chided them: 'Quiet,' he said, 'ye behave as women always do; when your master falleth sick ye burst into tears, and the moment he recovereth a little ye begin embracing him.' Mohammed, jealous even on his death-bed of the good name of his wives, was aroused by these words, and said, 'Verily they are better than ye are.' If this tra-

dition be true, it shows that Mohammed was only partially delirious at the moment."[25]

IV

Finally, we must mention a document, known as a letter supposed to have been written by Mohammed himself, which, though in a somewhat damaged condition, has been accepted by Moslems in India as authentic, photographed by them and repeatedly published with translations in several languages.

Mr. Belin[26] describes the manner in which Mr. Barthelemy discovered the letter in a Coptic monastery, circumstantially, and gives the Arabic text. The following is the translation:

"In the name of God the Merciful, the Clement. From Mohammed the servant of God and His apostle, to Al-Makaukus, the chief of the Copts, Salutation to him who follows the right course. But after (this preliminary) I invite thee to accept Islam; make a profession of it, and be safe, God will give thee thy reward twice; but if thou refusest, the sin of the Copts will be upon thee. (Say) O people of the Scriptures, come to the word (of the profession) which will equalize us and you. We adore only Allah, and associate nothing with Him. Let us not take for ourselves lords besides God. If they refuse then say (to them) Bear witness that we are Moslems."

[Seal] Of God
Apostle
Mohammed.

There is no doubt that the prophet sent such a letter to the Makaukus or Governor of Alexandria; in all the

[25] Muir's *Life of Mohammed*, Vol. IV, pp. 271-272.
[26] *Journal Asiatic Society*, Vol. IV, p. 482 (1854).

standard biographies of Mohammed he is always mentioned among the number of the potentates to whom envoys with such letters of invitations to profess Islam were sent. The ancient document is not a papyrus but a parchment, yet in such a state that the precise nature of the characters cannot be ascertained: to judge from the facsimile, they are more like Naskhi than Cufic, so that they may perhaps be considered as a hybrid between the two; nor can any points or other vowel marks be discerned. M. Berlin is of the opinion that the document in question was not the production of a forger like the Letters Patent of Mohammed, preserved by the Armenians of Asia Minor (and presented to the Government of the Viceroy of Egypt, in order to recover some rights and immunities conceded to them by the prophet), but that it is undoubtedly genuine.[27]

A copy of the letter referred to, together with a reproduction, was also printed at Cairo, 1909, in a little book on the history of Arabic writing, entitled *Dalil al-Kariʾ*, by Hassan Shahab. In the same book by this professor of the Azhar University (page 46), we have a list of the women in Mecca who at the time of the prophet could both read and write; namely, Shifaʾ, the daughter of Abdallah; Adowiya, one of the women who was present at the birth of Mohammed; Um Kulthum, the daughter of Akba; Ayesha, and others. The prophet, we are told, ordered Shifaʾ to teach Hafza, one of his wives, reading and writing.

Educated Moslems therefore have accepted the evidence and approved of the genuineness of the docu-

[27] Traugott Mann, however, in his *Der Islam*, (1914) p. 14, asserts that it is a forgery, although he gives no proofs.

ment.[28] A facsimile photograph of the letter was published by the sons of Mohammed Ghulam Rasul Surti, bookseller in the Bhendi Bazaar, Bombay, a few years ago. The photograph in my possession shows in the centre the original letter with the seal; on the right is an account of the discovery, together with an Arabic translation of the ancient Cufic script. On the left the same appears in Urdu. The account given reads as follows:

"This is a photograph of the letter which Mohammed the prophet sent and sealed with his seal, to the Mukaukus of the Copts in Egypt, in the seventh year of the Hegira. In the year 1275 A. H. one of the French Orientalists discovered the original letter among some Coptic documents in the Monastery of Akhmim, Upper Egypt. He took it to the Sultan Abd el-Mejid Khan, who commanded that it should be kept among the relics of the prophet in Constantinople. This reproduction has been done by photograph from the original which is in the safe-keeping of our present Sultan Abdul Hamid. This photograph was taken in the year 1316 A. H."

Apparently among the Moslems of Bombay there is no doubt as to the genuineness of the letter.

There is no reason, therefore, why Mohammedans should emphasize the illiteracy of the prophet except to bolster up their theory of the Koran as a miracle.

Fahr-al-Razi, for example, says (Vol. IV, p. 298), "If Mohammed had been able to read and write well, there would have been a suspicion that he had ex-

[28] In Tripoli, Syria, a different photographic reproduction of this letter was on sale at a book-shop. The bookseller, a Moslem Turk, assured me the letter was a genuine proof of Mohammed's literacy!

amined earlier books and copied his revelations from them."

The legend that Mohammed was illiterate grew with the centuries. Al Ghazali, for example (Ihya, Vol. II, p. 250), says:

"The prophet was *ummi*: he did not read, cipher, nor write, and was brought up in an ignorant country in the wild desert, in poverty while herding sheep; he was an orphan without father or mother; but God Himself taught him all the virtues of character and all the knowledge of the ancient and the modern world."

In view of the evidence given above, can there still be any doubt whether Mohammed could read and write? But the fact remains that Mohammedan tradition and the later Koran commentators have done their best to utilize the very slender material in proof of his illiteracy, to build up a structure of miracle.

The fact is that in the later commentaries Mohammed is represented as being *without any acquired intelligence*, a sort of spiritual freak like some of the modern "saints" of Egypt. As Margoliouth remarks:[29]

"This sort of logic is found wherever resort is had to oracles; it is a condition of their genuineness and importance that they should not be capable of explanation as the fruit of ordinary speculation. Hence those who deliver oracles are madmen, children, jesters, persons to whose reflections no value could be attached; indeed, the tendency to accentuate Mohammed's illiteracy is evidence of the same theory."

[29] *Early Development of Mohammedanism*, p. 70.

IV

THE "HOLY TRADITIONS"

PROFESSOR GOLDZIHER has shown in his studies of Islam[1] that Islam from the earliest century regarded Christianity as a religion from which something could be learned, and did not therefore disdain to borrow from it. This is acknowledged by the Mohammedan theologians themselves.[2] The early traditions of Islam indeed offer a wealth of examples showing how readily and greedily the founders of Islam borrowed from Christian sources. The miracles recorded in the Gospels were transferred to the realms of Islam, and what Jesus did became the act of Mohammed; for example, the miraculous supply of food or water, and the healing of the sick. Goldziher also enumerates a number of the didactic statements from the Gospels which are incorporated into the Hadith. The most remarkable example he gives is that of the Lord's Prayer:

"It is related by Abu Dardai that the prophet said: 'If anyone suffers or his brother suffers, he should say: "Our Lord God, which art in Heaven, hallowed be Thy name; Thy kingdom (here apparently the words 'come; Thy will be done,' are left out) is in heaven and on earth; as Thy mercy is in Heaven so show Thy mercy on earth; forgive us our debts and our sins (*haubana wa khatayana*). Thou art the Lord of the good; send down mercy from Thy

[1] Vol. II, *The Hadith and the New Testament.*
[2] *Ibn Hajar,* Vol. I, p. 372.

mercy, and healing from Thy healing on this pain, that it may be healed." ' "[3]

All these, however, belong to what Moslems call *Hadith Nabawi* (Traditions of the Prophet), although they are evidently borrowed from other sources. The *Hadith Nabawi* are distinguished in Islam from another species of tradition called *Hadith Qudsi.* This distinction arose from the fact that the former were attributed to Mohammed as the speaker and consisted either of his sayings, his doings, or acts which he permitted. These were severally handed down—so it was believed —from the lips of those who heard the words of were witnesses of the acts in question. But in some cases the form of a tradition showed that it contained the actual word of God, and not the word of the prophet merely. Such traditions were designated as *Hadith Qudsi* (holy), or *Hadith Ilahi* (Divine Tradition).

Both kinds of *Hadith* were held in great reverence from the earliest days of Islam throughout the whole Mohammedan world. The scruples which existed originally against the dissemination and recording of Mohammed's words in writing were soon overcome. The six standard collections of Mohammedan tradition, so well known, contained not only the sayings of the prophet and his *Sunna, i. e.,* the record of his conduct, but also direct revelations of God to former prophets, and also to Mohammed himself. Even in the smaller collections of traditions, such as the *Arba'in* of *Al-Nawawi, Hadith Qudsi* are found.

The only striking difference is that the *Hadith Qudsi* at first sight do not seem to have so complete a series

[3] *Abu Dawud,* Vol. I, p. 101, quoted in *The Hadith and the New Testament,* English translation, S. P. C. K., London, 1902, p. 18.

of narrators (*asnad*) attached as do the other traditions. They were doubtless delivered orally by the teacher to the pupil, and there is no record, as far as we can learn, of the date when they were first collected in the form in which they now appear. In fact the whole subject of these *Hadith Qudsi* requires further investigation. The *Encyclopædia of Islam,* in the learned article on *Hadith* by T. W. Juynboll, gives very meagre information.[4] There is scarcely a reference to the subject in the standard Moslem writers on tradition, as far as these have come to our notice. In this outline study, however, we have made use of three standard books. One is the only separately printed collection of *Hadith Qudsi,* namely, the *Athafat-al-Siniya,* by al-Madani (Hyderabad, 1323); the second a manuscript by al-Manawi, which we were fortunately able to purchase in Cairo. Brockelmann says (Vol. II, p. 306) that only two copies of this manuscript exist, viz., Leiden No. 1761 and Cairo I, 258.

Finally we consulted a third volume on *Hadith Qudsi* of which a manuscript copy is found in the Sultanieh Library at Cairo. It is entitled *Mi'at Hadith wa Wahid Qudsiya,* by Mohammed Abu Ali ibn Mohammed ibn al-'Arabi. He was born A. H. 560 at Mursia, and taught at Seville, afterwards travelling to the Hedjaz, Baghdad and Mosul. He died in Damascus 638 A. H. Al-'Arabi is known as one of the greatest mystics in Islam, and was a most voluminous writer. Brockelmann gives a list of his books to the number of one hundred and fifty.[5]

In his introduction Ibn al-'Arabi states the origin of

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[4] Eight lines only, ending with the statement that the Leiden MS. No. 1526, Cat. IV:98, gives a list of them.

[5] *Geschichte der Arabischen Literatur,* Vol. I, p. 441.

his collection of *Hadith Qudsi* was as follows: "When I came across the saying of Mohammed the Prophet, 'Whosoever commits to memory for my people forty traditions from my lips I will cause him to enter the ranks of those for whom I intercede in the day of Judgment,' and also the statement of the prophet, "Whosoever commits to memory for my people forty traditions that are necessary to them I will record his name as a juriscult and learned man,' in obedience to this statement I have taken pains to collect while at Mecca forty traditions during the months of the year 599 A. H., and I made it a condition that the first forty of my collection should be directly ascribed to God Himself as the speaker; the second forty through Mohammed as the narrator,—some of which are also narrated by his companions; and I finally completed the collection, making it up to the number of 101 by adding twenty-one traditions of a similar character. The whole collection consists therefore of 101 Divine Traditions (*Hadith Ilahi*)." This manuscript is dated 1139 A. H.

Our manuscript of Al-Manawi measures six by eight and a half inches, and is on good parchment paper in black ink with red ink headings for each tradition. It consists of sixty-four folios clearly written text in the ordinary Egyptian hand. The one who copied the manuscript calls himself Ibrahim Suweif as-Shafa'i. The manuscript is dated A. H. 1122. It consists of two parts, the first part, folio 1 to 38, contains 273 traditions, each of which begins with the words: "*Qal Allah*" (God said). The various traditions beginning with this formula are nevertheless arranged alphabetically according to the particular statement that follows. The second part—folio 38 to 65—consists of

ninety-five traditions, some of considerable length, arranged alphabetically, but none of which begin with the usual formula. The printed collection by Al Madani referred to consists of 239 pages and contains 856 numbered *Hadith Qudsi.* Of these 164 belong to the first part, each of them beginning "*Qal Allah*" (God said). Ninety belong to the second part—pages 30 to 46—and begin with the words "*Yaqul Allah*" (God says). The third part, from page 46 to the end, contains 603 traditions; these are all arranged in alphabetical order.

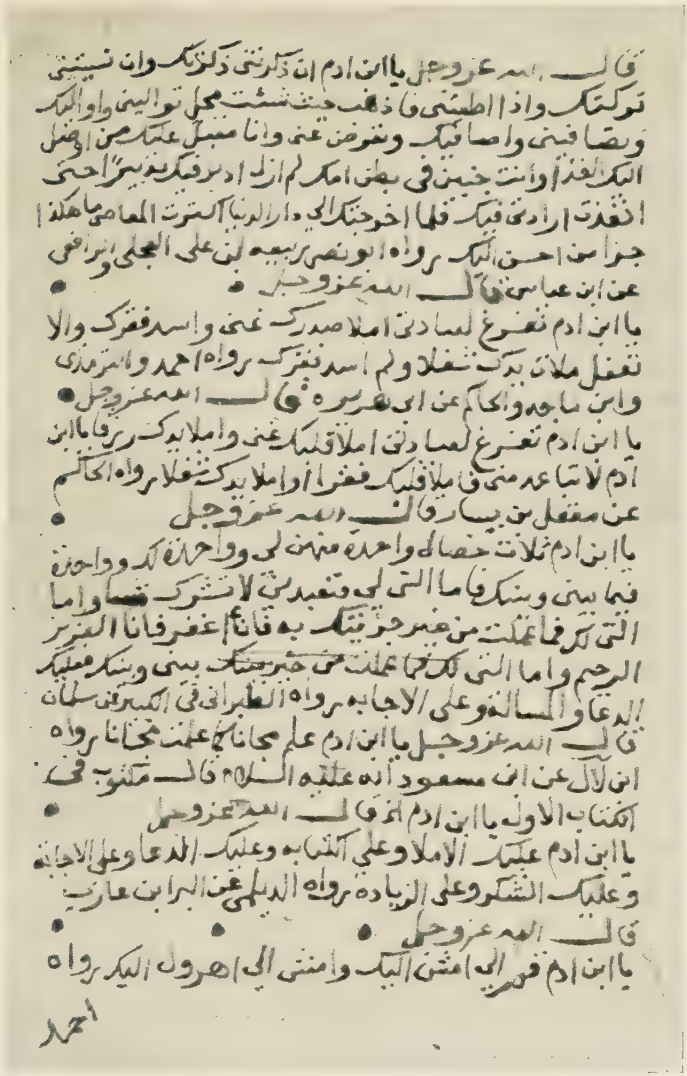
By comparing the third part with the similar arrangement in al-Manawi, it is evident that although *some* of the traditions in al-Manawi are evidently the same as those in the al-Madani collection, the text is quite uncertain, and there are many verbal variations. This, however, is not important, as we shall see from the definition given of *Hadith Qudsi* by Moslems, and the distinction made between these divine sayings and the unchangeable words of Allah as found in the Koran. It is not surprising that the title *Hadith Qudsi* seemed attractive enough to be used for other collections which are *not* authentic. One of them is entitled *Akhbar Qudsiya,* by Abdul Majid Ali, Cairo, A. H. 1324. This book contains no actual sayings ascribed to God, but only stories about Mohammed, mostly puerile and of doubtful origin, or evidently recently fabricated. Other similar popular collections exist and have a considerable sale, but they must be carefully distinguished from real *Hadith Qudsi.* As regards the author of the manuscript collection above mentioned, Abd ar-Ra'ŭf Mohammed bin Taj al-'Arifin Ali bin Zain al-Abadin Zain ad-Din al-Hadadi al-Manawi was of the Shafa'i sect, and was born in Cairo A. H. 952.

He busied himself from his youth in theological studies. For a short time he was a Qadi, but soon retired to private life, and studied until he was called to teach in the Madrassa as-Sakahiya.

His success and reputation awakened enmity and envy, and he died from poisoning after a long and suffering illness, A. H. 1031 (A. D. 1622). Nineteen of his writings are catalogued by Brockelmann (Vol. II, p. 306). The most important is called *Kunuz al-Haqa'iq fi' l-Hadith,* and consists of 10,000 traditions alphabetically arranged, and quoted from no less than forty-four other works on tradition. In addition to his work on the *Hadith Qudsi,* he wrote a supplement to it on *Sufic* prayers and traditions called *al-Matalib,* also many other books, of which a list is found in Brockelmann: they deal with botany, zoology, mineralogy and various other sciences.

For a definition of the term *Qudsi* we turn to the appendix of the work by al-Madani. Referring to the dictionary, *al-Misbah,* he says that the term is derived from the *Holy* land of Jerusalem, *al-Quds,* quoting also the curious opinion expressed, on the authority of al-Jalabi, that all the traditions called *Hadith Qudsi* were revealed to Mohammed at the time of his ascent (*Mi'raj*) to heaven, and that for this reason they are called *Qudsi,* because he ascended from a " pure place," namely *Bait-al-Maqdis* (Jerusalem).

This derivation is, however, evidently incorrect; although based on another tradition that Mohammed received all of the *Hadith Qudsi* at the time of his ascent to heaven from the Holy City of Jerusalem. For in another place al-Madani refers to the dictionary, *al-Misbah,* and says that the term is applied to the Holy Land of Jerusalem, and that God Himself is



FACSIMILE OF A PAGE FROM THE HADITH QUDSI

This is page 33 from the manuscript referred to in the text and gives traditions Nos. 231–240.

INTERIOR OF MAIN COURT OF AL-AZHAR AT CAIRO

The sundial above the pillar is the old timepiece. The numbered boxes below are used by the students for storing their personal belongings, books, etc.

called *Quddus* because the word signifies *pure or purified.*

He then goes on: "As for traditions being called holy (*qudsi*), it is because they are related to God as regards the substance and not the form of the narrative. The Noble Koran, on the other hand, came down from God not only in substance but in the very form of its syllables by inspiration to the Prophet Mohammed. Moreover, 'Ali al-Qari, our teacher, said, the *Hadith Qudsi* is that which the Master of all Narrators and the Full Moon of Authorities (*i. e.,* Mohammed) received from God sometimes by inspiration and again by dream or revelation, leaving him free to express it in words as he pleased. It differs from the Koran in this respect, because the latter only descended from the Preserved Tablet by means of the favour of the Angel Gabriel, accurate in every syllable. Moreover, its transmission was undoubtedly entire, unchanged from age to age. The Koran and the *Hadith Qudsi* also differ in many other points, among which the learned have enumerated the following:

"(1) The *Hadith Qudsi* may not be used in the repetition of the ritual prayers.

"(2) The written *Hadith Qudsi* is not forbidden to the touch of him or her who is ceremonially unclean. (The text here gives detail in Moslem phraseology.)

"(3) The *Hadith Qudsi* is not inimitable, in the miraculous sense, as is the Koran (*I'jaz*).

"(4) He who denies the authority or truth of a holy tradition (*Hadith Qudsi*) is not thereby considered an unbeliever (*Kafir*) as is the case of one who denies the Koran."

Our author then goes on to give his authorities for these various distinctions, and adds other information.

He quotes *al-Karmani* in his book on *Fasting* as saying that whatever words have come down to Mohammed without the instrumentality of Gabriel, and without having the inimitable form of the Koran, are termed *Hadith Qudsi.* He says there are also two other terms used: *Ilahi* (divine) or *Rabbani* (lordly).

Al-Taibi says that the Koran consists of the exact words spoken by Gabriel to the prophet, while the *Hadith Qudsi* consists of information of which the significance was given to Mohammed sometimes by revelation and sometimes by dream. This information is quoted from the book *al-Fawa'id,* by Hafid al Taftazani.

So much for the significance of the term used. The sources of the *Hadith Qudsi,* as we shall see from the text later, includes Old and New Testament fragments, often torn out of their connection, stray verses from other apocryphal writers, and (what is most remarkable) *abrogated* verses of the Koran, which are preserved only in these collections. In some cases a whole Surah apparently, e. g., the tradition numbered eighty-two in al-Madani's printed text.[6] This, both in its form and contents, is so like the Koran that in reading it aloud to well-read Moslems they affirmed to me it was in the Koran, until shown their mistake.

In this connection we must remember, as remarked by Margoliouth,[7] that "there was no check on the sources of Moslem tradition. Everything depended on

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[6] P. 15. It reads in part as follows: "Then we caused them to inherit the Book, those namely whom we chose from our servants . . . and they entered Paradise, without giving account . . . verily your Lord is the Forgiver, the Grateful Rewarder, who permitted them to enter the abode of eternity by His graciousness, in which no evil shall touch them nor impure speech harm them."

[7] *Early Development of Mohammedanism,* p. 90.

the memory, recollection, and often the imagination of the narrator. Sometimes the ascription of a saying could be put right. Abu Talib points out that one which was ordinarily ascribed to the prophet really belonged to the Sufi Saha al-Tustari of the third century. Some of the prophet's sayings were referred to earlier revelations, and can indeed be identified in the Bible or Apocrypha. The principle of jurisprudence whereby in civil suits the plaintiff must produce evidence, whereas all that can be demanded of the defendant is an oath, is sometimes referred to Omar, at other times to the prophet, whereas it really comes from the Jewish Mishna."

This looseness of the whole fabric of tradition is abundantly illustrated by many of the *Hadith Qudsi.* We can easily understand how these collections of pious sayings were made, and how all sorts of statements which had no authority, save in the fertile brain of those who uttered them, were finally recorded as divine traditions. To quote again from Margoliouth:[8]

"One method of dealing with the discrepancies between the Biblical narratives and the Koran was to supply the original Bible which the Jews and Christians had been supposed to corrupt. Copies of such works are occasionally found; they are close imitations in style of the Koran, and therefore take the form of addresses by the Divine Being to the prophets to whom they are supposed to have been revealed. Apparently Sprenger was misled into supposing that a book of this kind, bearing the name of Abraham, was the Roll of Abraham to whom some early Surahs of the Koran refer. The Sufi, Abu Talib al-Makki, makes tolerably frequent use of a collection which he calls 'The Israelite Traditions,' some of which are evidently based on

[8] *Early Development of Mohammedanism,* pp. 233-234.

narratives actually found in the Bible. Thus he tells a story of the Temple of Jeroboam, and the adventures of the prophet who announced its fall, with very fair accuracy: proper names are indeed omitted, and the whole story is a sort of replica of the Mosque of *Dirar* or 'nonconformity' which was built by some of the disaffected near the end of the prophet's career, and of which the prophet ordered the destruction; only the prophet who disobeyed the order is shown by a special revelation to have been eaten by the lion not as a punishment, but as an honour. One Khaithamah declared that the Gospel contained a statement about the keys of Korah's treasure-house, which, according to the Koran, were a load for several persons; the Gospel gave the exact weight."[9]

Koelle, in his *Mohammed and Mohammedanism Critically Considered,* devotes the second part of his book to the close parallel between the apocryphal accounts of Mohammed's life in later tradition and the Gospel record of our Saviour Jesus Christ.[10] This is "the mythical Mohammed as he was portrayed by the vivid imagination of his uncritical admirers." "What was known of the lives of previous prophets (or of their sayings) was exaggerated to suit the conception of the chief and seal of all the prophets, such as Mohammed claimed to be, and was most unscrupulously applied to him"[11]

The system of pious frauds revealed in these collections of *Hadith Qudsi* is not abhorrent to the Moslem mind. According to their teaching, deception is allowable in such cases. On what occasion would it be more justifiable—not to say meritorious—than in

[9] Tabari, Comm. XX, 63-68.
[10] Pp. 240-446.
[11] Koelle, *Mohammed and Mohammedanism Critically Considered,* p. 245.

furthering the interests of Islam, and adding glory to the character of Mohammed by supplementing his divine revelation in this way? [12]

We will now let the *Hadith Qudsi* speak for themselves. The entire collection does not merit translation, it will suffice to show from a number of instances the character and sources of some of these divine sayings, and allow the reader to draw his own conclusions.

The following are examples of some of the more striking *Hadith Qudsi* translated from al-Madani's collection, chosen because this is the only printed collection of *Hadith Qudsi,* and its traditions are all carefully numbered. In one or two cases there are repetitions, but I have given some of these in order to show the variations in the text.

"God said: I am in a great difficulty regarding both men and Jinn: I created them, yet they worship others beside Me; I provide them with food, and then they return thanks to others than Myself." (No. 5.)

"God said: Whosoever has not blessed My judgment, when disaster overtakes him let him seek another Lord than Me." (No. 6.)

"God said: If anyone lose his two eyes in My service, I will restore them in Paradise." (No. 14.)

"God said: I have prepared for My servants who are pious, that which eye has not seen, nor ear heard, nor that which has entered into the heart of any man." (This tradition is related on the authority of Bukhari and Muslim, who have it from Abu Huraira!) (No. 17.)

"God said: My mercy overtakes My wrath." (No. 24.)

"When My servant draws near to Me a handsbreadth, I draw near to him an armslength; if he draws near to Me an

[12] *Cf.* the remarks of Muir in his *Life of Mohammed,* Vol. I, pp. LXXIV to LXXIX.

armslength, I draw near to him a fathom; if he approaches Me walking, I approach him running." (No. 28.)

" God said: Pride is My greatness, and majesty My cloak; whosoever deprives Me of either of them, I will make him taste the torture of the fire." (Repeated 177.) (No. 34.)

" God said: God loves best those who hasten to worship." (No. 37.)

" God said: If any of My servants suffers evil in body, or children, or property and bears it with patience, I will reward him on the Day of Judgment by making his account easy." (No. 46.)

" God said: There is no god but God; this is My word and I am He (it). Whosoever, therefore, says this creed enters into My safekeeping and whosoever enters My safekeeping is free from My punishment." (No. 49.)

" God said: I am the Lord, and have predestined good and evil; woe, therefore, to him at whose hands I have predestined evil, and blessed is he at whose hands I have predestined good." (No. 50.)

" God said: There are servants of Mine who before men wear sheep's clothing, but their hearts are more bitter than gall, and their tongues are sweeter than honey. They deceive Me." (No. 56.)

" God said: Whenever My servant thinks of Me I am present in his thoughts; therefore let him think concerning Me as he pleases." (No. 58.)

Tradition No. 61 repeats No. 28 in other words, both of them reminding us of the Prodigal's return in Luke, fifteenth chapter. (No. 61.)

" God said: There are three things which if man observe he will be My friend, and if he neglect them My enemy: Prayer, Fasting and Ritual Purification." (No. 74.)

" God said: Whosoever remembers Me in meditation, I will remember him before multitudes of My angels; who-

soever remembers Me in the public assembly, I will remember him before the highest Companionship." (?) (Ar-Rafiq al-'Aali.) (No. 77.)

"God said: My servant who believes in Me is more precious to Me than some of My angels." (No. 80.)

No. 82 is an imitation, both in form and matter, of a Koran verse, and might be read without distinguishing the difference; one wonders why it was not collected with the other chapters and verses.

"God said: Whoever is engaged in praying to Me or asking Me a favour, freely I will give it to him before he asks." (No. 86.)

"God said: Whosoever visits Me in Mekka, or at the Mosque of My Apostle in Medina, or at Jerusalem, and dies so doing, will die a martyr." (No. 88.)

"God said: I make a covenant with My servant that if he observes the prayers at the appointed time, I will not punish him, but cause him to enter Paradise without giving account." (No. 93.)

"God said: My servants cannot array themselves in more proper dress than asceticism." (No. 96.)

No. 149 seems to be a recollection from the Psalter, and reads:

"David said, when speaking to God: 'O Lord, which of Thy servants is most precious to Thee, so that I may love him with Thy love?' God replied to David: 'The most beloved of My servants to Me is he who is pure in heart and intent; who does not do evil to anyone, nor walk after backbiting. The mountains may depart, but he who loves Me will abide, and I will love him.' Then David said: 'O Lord, Thou knowest that I love Thee, and love those that love Thee; how shall I show my love to Thee to Thy servants?' He said: 'Remember them in their troubles and in

their need, for verily there is no one who assists the oppressed, or walks with him in his affliction, that I will not establish his goodness in the Day when men's footsteps slip.'"

"God said: 'Pride is My cloak and Majesty is My mantle, and whosoever deprives Me of either of them I will cast him into hell." (No. 177.)

No. 354 is remarkable because according to the authority of as-Suyuti in the *Itqan* (Vol. II, p. 25) these very words came down to Mohammed as part of the Koran, but were afterwards abrogated. The abrogated verses were preserved in the *Hadith Qudsi:*

"God said: 'Verily we have given men health, that they may perform the prayer and give alms. If a son of Adam had a parcel of land, he would wish for twain: had he twain, he would love to have a third added: nothing will satisfy the desires of man and fill his belly except the dust. After that God will be merciful to him to whom he will show mercy.'" (No. 354.)

So far the selections from al-Madani.

The following are taken from our Cairo manuscript by al-Manawi. They differ in no important respect from those by al-Madani, but the following examples are noteworthy.

"Said the Apostle of God: It is written in the Torah, O Son of Man, I have created thee and provided for thee, yet dost thou worship other than Myself." (Folio 1, No. 2 of the Mss.)

"Those whom I love most among my worshippers are the ones that hasten to break the fast." (Folio 2, No. 6.)

"God said: If any of My servants purposes to do evil, but does it not, I will consider it to his merit and not to his discredit." (Folio 5, No. 1.)

"God said: There are some of those who profess to believe in Me, but in the same breath deny Me. For example, those who say, 'Rain has come down upon us, and we have received our food by the mercy of God, and His bounty.' These are true believers in Me, and do not believe in the influence of the stars. But whosoever says, 'A certain star has brought us rain or good fortune,' he is an unbeliever." (Folio 6, No. 1.)

The following gives in almost exact form the text of Isaiah 64:4 and I Cor. 2:9: "God said: I have prepared for my servants who believe in Me that which eye hath not seen nor ear heard, and that which has not occurred to the heart of man." The *asnad,* or list of narrators, for this *Hadith* is given as follows: "Ibn Jarir received this from al-Hassan by word of mouth." Other *asnad* are equally scanty. (Folio 6, No. 3.)

"God said: The heavens and the earth would not be able to contain Me, yet I dwell in the heart of the true believer." (Folio 6, No. 7.)

"God said to Mohammed: Verily thy people will not cease asking foolish questions, until they say, Behold God has created the creation, but who created God?" (Folio 7, No. 4.)

"God said: I have made a covenant with My servant that if he observes the stated prayers I will not enter into judgment with him, but cause him to enter the Garden without giving account." (Folio 8, No. 7.)

"God said: I am present when My servant thinks of Me, and wheresoever he remembers me there I am." (This tradition is given in various forms on the same page.) (Folio 13, No. 6.)

"Said God: The evil eye is a passing-arrow of Satan. Whosoever abandons belief in it because he fears Me, I will

give him faith in the place of it, by which he will praise Me in his heart." (Folio 17, No. 5.)

" God said: As you judge you shall be judged, and with the measure by which you mete it shall be measured to you again." (The complete *asnad* is given of this Gospel passage, but it is not stated to be from the *Injil*. Folio 21, No. 2.)

Another, evidently taken from Matthew 25:31, gives a long tradition in which God says that only their prayers are answered who have fed the hungry, and clothed the naked, and shown mercy to those in trouble, and visited the stranger. (Folio 22, No. 7.)

" Whosoever remembers Me rather than begs in prayer, I will give him his request before he asks." (Another form of the Scripture statement: " Before they call I will answer.") (Folio 26, No. 6.)

" God said: There is no god but God. *This is My word and I am It.* And whosoever pronounces it, I will cause him to enter my safekeeping, and he will suffer no punishment." (Perhaps an echo of John 1:1, " In the beginning was the Word and the Word was with God and the Word was God.") (Folio 29, No. 8.)

" God said: O Jesus, I will send after Thee a people who when they accept good at My hands will return praise, and thanksgiving, and if they receive that which they dislike, they will still be content and patient." (Evidently a prophecy of the glory of Islam over Christianity.) (Folio 36, No. 2.)

" God said: O Moses, thou son of Amram! Show mercy and you will receive mercy." (This is a Gospel beatitude torn out of its connection, and preserved as a Divine word to Moses.) (Folio 37, No. 5.)

" God spoke to Jesus the Son of Mary: Instruct Thyself by My wisdom, and if You receive benefit, then teach men; and if not, then fear Me." (Folio 45, No. 3.)

"God revealed to Jesus that He would move about from place to place, so that none could recognize Him and do Him harm. Then God swore by His greatness and His glory that He would marry Him to two thousand houris, and give Him a vision in Paradise for two hundred years." (Again a caricature of the Gospel; many such occur in both collections.) (Folio 45, No. 8.)

The above selections are typical and, although taken somewhat at random, represent the contents of the collection fairly well.

The questions raised in the investigation of this subject are many, both from the standpoint of orthodox Islam and that of the Orientalist and student of Comparative Religion. If these *Hadith Qudsi* are divine traditions and portions of God's revelation to man, why are they not mentioned in the Koran? If they *are* referred to in the Koran, are they the books that came down to Adam, Seth and other prophets? But these books are supposed to have been lost. How, then, did these fragments remain? What relation has the *Hadith Qudsi* to the canonical Gospels or to apocryphal writings? Why did the collectors of tradition make no distinction between the words of Mohammed, who is, after all, human, and the words which are put into the mouth of God? Why was there never an authentic collection made without variations of the text? What is the relation and the authority of these sayings to the Koran text itself, which is, to the Moslem, the Word of God? What shall we say of the abrogated verse of the Koran which appears in this collection? Are the other sayings also perhaps portions of the Koran which were abrogated? Or must we conclude, from the standpoint of criticism, that the *Hadith Qudsi* empha-

size the utterly untrustworthy character of all these collections as regards both the text (*matn*) and the narrators (*asnad*)?

One is reminded of the *Hadith* preserved by al-Darimi, and well known (*mashhur*) to all Moslems: "*Inna 'l-hadith qadhin 'ala 'l-Qur'an wa laisa al-Qur'an qadhin 'alaihi fi ba'dh al-umur.*" ("Verily, tradition determines the significance of the Koran and not the Koran tradition in certain matters.") One of these matters surely is the conception of inspiration and revelation in the Moslem sense.

V

WOMEN IN THE KORAN AND TRADITION

"TO REGARD polygamy as an essential in Islam would be an unpardonable mistake," says the editor of the *Islamic Review* (Woking, England). "Islam is a universal religion. With its worldwide mission comes the necessity of providing for the requirements of all ages, countries and civilizations. Besides, the substantial laws—the Code of Islam, the Holy Koran—provide certain ordinances which are in effect, remedial laws, deprecating their abuse, and laying proper restrictions on their use."

Such statements not only reveal the psychology of the New Islam, but raise the whole question whether Mohammed improved the position of womanhood and advocated her rights or whether by his legislation and example, he did exactly the opposite. A recent Western writer goes so far as to say:

"Mohammed, according to his lights and with due regard to the needs of his time and country, was probably the most earnest champion of women's rights that the world has ever known. He found women, at least in some tribes, the property of their kinsmen, to be used, sold or let to hire like other chattels. He left them possessed of full legal personality, and capable of acquiring property and contracting on their own account. In other words, Mohammed brought about a condition whereby the veiled woman of Islam has ever since the seventh century of the Christian era pos-

sessed and effectively exercised property rights not yet enjoyed by many hundreds of thousands of English-speaking women."[1]

What are the facts? It is true that the position of women in Arabia among the nomad Arabs was in some respects an inferior one; but in all that makes for life and freedom it was far superior to what became her lot under Islam. There was the cruel and barbaric custom of female infanticide, but this was far from universal. The use of the veil was very rare in Arabia before Islam, nor did the Arabs seclude their women in the days of idolatry. Women had rights and were respected. In two instances, beside that of Zenobia, the Queen of Palmyra, we read of Arabian women ruling over their tribes; and Freytag, in his *Arabian Proverbs,* gives a list of female judges who exercised their office before Islam. The Nabathean and South Arabian coins and inscriptions prove that women held an independent and honourable position; they built expensive family tombs, owned estates, and were independent traders. Khadijah, Mohammed's first wife, is an example. We find, moreover, a genuine spirit of chivalry in the pre-Islamic poetry of Arabia. A woman was never given away by her father in an unequal match nor against her consent. Professor G. A. Wilken has conclusively shown that women had the right, before Mohammed's time, in every case, to choose their own husbands, and cites the case of

[1] Pierre Crabites, in *The Nineteenth Century and After,* 1924. The contrary opinion was ably voiced by no less an authority than Martin Hartmann, the great Orientalist, in an address at Berlin in 1913; see *The Moslem World,* Vol. IV, pp. 258-265; and by Mohammedans themselves, as in *Al Mar'at al-Arabiyat,* by Abdallah Afifi, Cairo, 1921.

Khadijah, who offered her hand to Mohammed.[2] Even captive women were not kept in slavery.

Polyandry and polygamy were both practised; the right of divorce belonged to the wife as well as to the husband; temporary marriages were also common. As was natural among a nomad race, the bond was quickly made and easily dissolved. But this was not the case among the Jews and Christians of Yemen and Nejran.[3] Two kinds of marriages were in vogue in ancient Arabia. The *muta'a* was a purely personal contract between a man and a woman; no witnesses were necessary; and the woman did not leave her home or come under the authority of her husband; even the children belonged to the wife. This marriage, so frequently described in Arabic poetry, was not considered illicit, but openly celebrated in verse, and brought no disgrace on the woman. In the other kind of marriage, called *nikah,* the woman became subject to her husband by capture or purchase. In the latter case, the purchase-money was paid to the bride's kin.

Robertson Smith sums up the position of women in Arabia before Islam in these words:

"It is very remarkable that, in spite of Mohammed's humane ordinances, the place of women in the family and in society has steadily declined under his law. In ancient Arabia we find many proofs that women moved more freely and asserted themselves more strongly than in the modern East. The Arabs themselves recognized that the position of

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[2] G. A. Wilken, *Het Matriarchaat bij de oude Arabieren* (1884), and a supplement to the same in answer to his critics (The Hague, 1885).

[3] The statement is often made that the position of women with Mohammedans is very much the same as under Judaism. That this is not the case was shown by P. Nyland; see *The Moslem World,* Vol. VI, p. 291 ff.

woman had fallen, and it continued still to fall under Islam because the effect of Mohammed's legislation in favour of women was more than outweighed by the establishment of marriages of dominion as the one legitimate type." [4]

The real difference between marriage in Arabia before and after Islam was not in the temporary character of the union, but in the fact that in the one case both parties had the right of divorce, but in the latter only the husband has it. Consequently, although Islam softened some of the harshest features of the old law, it nevertheless set a permanent seal of subjection on the female sex by stereotyping a system of marriage which at bottom is nothing else than the old marriage of dominion.

The Koran degraded early Arabian womanhood. The one great classic on the subject by Dr. Perron is as convincing as it is exhaustive.[5] From the early poets, the musicians of the desert, from a multitude of references in Islamic writers and from the Koran itself, he has brought forth evidence that leaves no reader in doubt. Any woman would undoubtedly choose to have lived in Pagan Arabia rather than under the system of Islam. Mansour Fahmi, himself a Mohammedan, says:

" Altogether, in spite of her theoretically inferior station, the woman then lived her own life, in word, thought and deed. History furnishes us with numerous facts which prove the superiority and activity of the ancient Arab woman:

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[4] *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, p. 67 and pp. 100-104. The veil was unknown. *Cf. Fakhr-al-Razi*, V:249, and *Tabari*, XXII:32; both quoted by Abdallah Afifi in the book already mentioned.

[5] *Femmes Arabes avant et depuis l'Islamisme*, 2 vols., Paris, 1858; Vol. I, p. 309 ff., Vol. II, p. 302 ff.

A BLIND BEGGAR ASKING ALMS ON THE STREETS OF CAIRO

FROM BEHIND THE LATTICE

A typical scene in Cairo showing the manner of carrying a child. He is enjoying a favourite sweet-meat, raw sugar-cane.

she took part in war; she busied herself in commerce; she had her own individual religious freedom, entirely apart from passively following her husband in matters of conscience; and if one should compare the two rôles played by the woman in this ancient society and in the actual society of Islam, one would say with Renan that the Arab woman at the time of Mohammed did not resemble in any way the stupid being who dwells in the harems of the Ottomans.

" The ancient Arab woman was happy in her home. She lived. Soon Islam with its diverse institutions, its theocratic laws, and the consequences that followed, changed the customs, and the activity of women was paralyzed." [6]

What place, then, does woman occupy in the Koran —the Bible of Islam? It has often been erroneously stated that Mohammed taught that " women have no souls." [7] So far from this being true, the Koran addresses itself to women as well as men, and contains much on the subject of women as believers in God and in Mohammed's message. It mentions with high hon-

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[6] *La Condition de la Femme dans la Tradition et l'Evolution de l'Islamisme,* Paris, 1913, pp. 6-7.

[7] P. de Lacy Johnstone, in his book *Mohammed* (Appendix B), says:

" The not uncommon belief that Moslems hold that women either have no souls, or that their souls perish at the death of the body, is no groundless calumny of the Christian. If Hood sang of

' The barbarous Turk
Where woman has never a soul to save,'

the Prophet himself said that ' Hell was for the most part peopled with women;' and there is remarkable recent evidence that the belief that women do *not* live after death is held by educated Moslems."

Sir Edward Malet, in his charming book of recollections, *Shifting Scenes,* records a conversation he had with the late Khedive of Egypt (Taufiq), Tewfik Pasha, for whom Sir Edward had high regard. There was fear that the rebels would storm the palace and murder the Khedive and all his family, and Tewfik explained the abject terror of his wives by saying, " For them, you know, existence ends absolutely with death." If the Khedive of Egypt held such a belief, it is probably common among his co-religionists.

our not only Mary, the mother of Jesus Christ, but other women who are saints in the Moslem calendar.

Reward is promised to good women as well as to good men (33:35).

Modest behaviour is the chief virtue of a woman, and the veil is enjoined (33:59); a severe penalty is laid down for those who defame virtuous women (4:39).

Daughters as well as sons are a gift of God, and Mohammed reproves his people for lamenting the birth of female children and is especially indignant with the old custom among the pagan Arabs of burying some of their infant daughters alive. Daughters, however, are not equal to sons, but have only half portion of the inheritance (4:12).

Again, it requires the testimony of two women in a law court to rebut the testimony of one man. Yet the Koran teaches reverence for motherhood, although sometimes only indirectly (4:1; 17:24; 46:14). "We have enjoined on man the doing of good to his parents; with trouble did his mother bear him and with trouble did she bring him forth."

The most prominent element in Koran teaching regarding women is in relation to marriage, divorce, and domestic slavery. The word for marriage in the Koran is *nikah,* a crude expression no longer used in polite society, because it has reference solely to the physical aspect of marriage. The Koran teaches that marriage is for the begetting of children . . . and the multiplication of the race (42:9). The wife is to be treated with love and tenderness (30:20). Marriage with a Jewess or a Christian woman is lawful, not with idolatresses (5:7; 2:20). A list of prohibited degrees is given (4:27) in which the father's wife (4:26) is es-

pecially forbidden, but the wife of an adopted son allowed (3:4). Polygamy undoubtedly has the sanction of the Koran for this world and the next (4:3). "But if ye cannot do justice between orphans, then marry what seems good to you of women, by two's or three's or four's; and if ye fear that ye cannot be equitable, then only one, or what your right hand possesses [*i. e.*, female slaves]." Although Mohammed by this legislation regulated and limited polygamy, yet in the history of Islam this restriction which can be read into the text was of no effect in view of Mohammed's own example and that of his immediate followers.

In addition to four wives, a Moslem is allowed slave girls at his discretion (70:30; 23:4; 4:29). Wives are to be treated with strict impartiality, and the marriage of orphan girls is to be carefully arranged (4:26). Widows must not remarry unless they have waited four months and ten days. At the time of marriage the wife receives a dowry from her husband which becomes her property unless she on her own account releases the claim, when she wants divorce.

On this latter subject there are many detailed and unsavory regulations which can be summarized as follows: four months' interval are required between separation and final divorce (2:26). A divorced wife cannot be taken back by the husband after the triple divorce until she has consummated marriage with another husband.[8]

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[8] We quote this passage as typical of the general teaching: "But if the husband give sentence of divorce to her a third time, it is not lawful for him to take her again until she shall have married another husband, and if he also divorce her then shall no blame be attached to them if they return to each other, thinking that they can keep within the bounds fixed by God. He maketh this clear to those who have knowledge" (2:22).

"But when ye divorce women, and the time for her sending away is come, either retain them with generosity, or put them away with generosity; but retain them not by constraint so as to be unjust towards them. He who doth so doth in fact injure himself.

"And when ye divorce your wives, and they have waited the prescribed time, hinder them not from marrying husbands when they have agreed among themselves in an honourable way. This warning is for him among you who believeth in God and in the last day. This is most pure for you and most decent."

Such is the teaching regarding divorce laid down by the Arabian prophet as eternal law. The Koran itself is witness to the fact that Mohammed found himself fettered by his legislation in the matter of marriage. His domestic affairs are laid bare to public gaze. Mohammed's wives are said to be mothers of the faithful (3:36), and therefore none of them are allowed to marry after his decease. They are all to veil themselves carefully from the public and to be an example of modesty, for God is ever watchful over all (24:31).

What the actual conditions were is revealed in that marvellous collection of authentic sayings and doings called *Hadîth* or tradition. This is the Talmud of Islam and is as authoritative to the followers of the prophet as the Koran itself. In these books of *Hadîth* we have the fireside literature of the Moslem home everywhere.

It is recorded in them that the prophet said: "I have not taken any wife, nor given away any daughter to anyone, without Gabriel having first brought me an order from my Lord; and I only acted according to that order." Biographers record that he had twelve married wives with whom he consummated marriage.

15656

They are all agreed respecting eleven of them; but in regard to the twelfth, their opinion differs as to whether she was a married wife or a slave concubine.[9]

It is recorded that Ayesha stated:

"When the Apostle of God married me I was in my *sixth year,* and was still playing with other little girls. These girls would run away when that prince came near me, being ashamed; but he would go after them and bring them back to continue the play.

"One day he visited me, when I had been playing with my dolls, which I had laid on a cushion, and drawn a curtain over them. After a while the wind blew the curtain aside, and the prophet, seeing them, asked, 'What is that?' I answered, 'These are my dolls.' Then, seeing something like a horse with wings on both sides, he inquired again, 'And what is that other thing I see amongst them?' I replied, 'A horse.' 'And what is that on both sides?' 'Those are its wings.' 'Have horses wings?' 'Hast thou not heard that Solomon had winged horses?' Upon this his Excellency laughed so heartily that the whole row of his teeth was seen."

Here are other authentic traditions regarding women and marriage:

It is related from Abdullah ibn Omar that the Apostle of God said: "The whole world is valuable; but the most valuable thing in the world is a good woman" (Muslim).

It is related from Umamah ibn Zaid that the Apostle of God said: "I have not left after me any calamity more distressing to man than woman" (Muslim, Al Bukhari).

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[9] *Cf.* S. W. Koelle, *Mohammed and Mohammedanism,* pp. 487-509. He gives a short biographical sketch of each of the wives of the Prophet.

It is related from Abu Umama that the prophet said: " A believer has not benefited more, after the fear of God, than by a virtuous wife who, if he commands her, obeys him; and if he looks at her, pleases him; and if he swears by her, justifies him; and if he goes away from her, acts sincerely in respect to herself and his property " (Ibn Majah).

It is related from Anas that the Apostle of God said: " When a servant of God marries, he has perfected half of religion; then let him fear God for the remaining half."

It is related from 'Aisha that the prophet married her when she was a girl of six years. And she was taken to her husband's house when a girl of nine years; and her playthings accompanied her. And the prophet died and left her when she was a girl of eighteen (Muslim).

It is related from Omar ibn-al-Khatab and Anas ibn Malak that the Apostle of God said: " It is written in the Old Testament that he whose daughter reaches twelve years of age, and he has not given her in marriage, and she falls into sin, he is responsible for that sin " (Al Baihaqi).

It is related from Ayesha that when the Apostle of God wished to go on a journey, he used to cast lots amongst his wives, and would depart taking her with him whose name came out (Muslim, Al Bukhari).

It is related from Abu Huraira that the prophet said: " When a man has two wives, and does not treat them impartially he will come on the day of resurrection with half his body fallen off " (Al Tirmidhi, Abŭ Dawud, A Nasai, Ibn Majah).

It is related from Abu Huraira that the Apostle of God said: " If I had ordered anyone to prostrate to

another, I would certainly have ordered a woman to prostrate before her husband " (Al Tirmidhi).

There are traditions not only in favour of but against divorce.

Thus Abd'Allah b. Mas'ud reports that the apostle cursed the second husband who made her again lawful for the first and cursed the first husband for whom she was thus made lawful. Another *hadith* which reminds one of Christ's interpretation of the Mosaic law is: " Of the things which are lawful the most hateful thing to God is divorce."

The following *hadith* claims to give Mohammed's view on the question of the custody of the child: " A woman came to the apostle and said, ' With my body I carried, nourished, and cradled this son of mine, and now his father has divorced me and wants to snatch him from me.' The prophet answered, ' You are the most worthy of him so long as you remain unmarried." [10]

The *hadith* in this, as in so many other matters, reflect the thoughts of the best and the worst minds of Mohammed's companions. For instance, Mohammed, as reported by Abd Allah ibn 'Umar, tells us: " The world, all of it is property, and the best property is a virtuous woman." And again, as reported by Abu Huraira: " A woman may be married for four things: her money, her birth, her beauty and her religion. Get thou a religious woman, otherwise thy hands be rubbed in dirt! "

On the other hand, Usama ibn Zaid would have us know that the apostle said, " I have not left behind me a source of discord more injurious to men than

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[10] *The Traditions of Islam,* by Alfred Guillaume, p. 103.

women." And Ibn Umar, "A woman, a house and a horse are bad omens."

There is also a tradition which, says Professor Guillaume, "must either be officially repudiated or forever condemn the system which enshrines it." "Whenever a woman vexes her husband in this world, his wife among the *huris* of paradise says, 'Do not vex him (may God slay thee!), for he is only a guest with thee. He will soon leave thee and come to us.'" It is a logical inference from the Koran itself that men in Paradise are to be gratified by the possession of *huris*, but there will be no special place for the wives they had in this world.[11]

Political power may sometimes be held by women, but the prophetic verdict on women in high places is recorded by Bukhari thus: "When the Apostle of God was informed that the Persians had made Kisra's daughter their sovereign, he exclaimed, 'A people that entrusts its affairs to a woman will never prosper.'"[12]

The subordinate position of women in the religious life is likewise fixed by another of the prophet's utterances. He went out on the day of the victims and Bairam to the place of prayer and, passing some women, he said: "O, company of women, give alms, for I have seen that most of you will be inhabitants of hell." "Why?" said they. Replied he: "Because you curse much and deny the kindness of husbands."

Turning now from Mohammedan tradition to the law of marriage as found in their codes of jurisprudence, we will next consider the legal position of women in Islam. According to Mansour Fahmi, Islamic liter-

[11] Compare article by E. E. Calverley in *The Moslem World*, Vol. VIII, p. 61 ff.

[12] *The Traditions of Islam*, by Alfred Guillaume.

ature and Islamic law degraded women more and more in the course of the centuries.[13] The example of Mohammed and his immediate followers proved far more potent than the limitations of any definite precept. The increase of female captives from Mohammedan conquests was another contributing factor in the downward trend.[14]

In Al-Ghazali's great work, the *Ihya,* an encyclopædia of religious thought, a special chapter is devoted to the subject of marriage. He entitles it, " The Ethics of Marriage," and divides the subject as follows: Marriage is praiseworthy; then (citing the passage from the Koran and traditions), " the benefits of marriage are fivefold: children, enjoyment of life, the establishment of a home, social privileges, and the training of the mind by administering the home." He next describes the ideal wife according to Mohammedan standards: " She must possess religion, a good temper, beauty, small dowry, be a virgin, become a mother, belong to a good family and not be too closely related." The rights of a husband and wife are then detailed. Marriage is defined as " a kind of slavery." No one reading this chapter in Al-Ghazali would imagine that Mohammed had ever said, as he is reported to have said, " Verily, Paradise lies at the feet of mothers."

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[13] *La Femme,* pp. 160-161.

[14] *The Legal Position of Women in Islam,* by Ameer Ali Syed, P.C., C.I.E., LL.D., and *Mohammedan Law of Marriage and Divorce,* by Ahmed Shukri, LL.B., Ph.D., Columbia University Press, New York, 1917. The first work is an apology but vitiated by the omission of many facts. The second is both scholarly and unbiased. However, the author is far from orthodox Islam when he says, " As a statesman he, Mohammed, recognized polygamy as an ethnic condition, and he acted wisely in not interfering with it. Any radical innovation in this direction would have upset the entire fabric of Eastern society, and might have been fatal to Islam."

A contemporary of Al-Ghazali, the celebrated Al Nawawi, wrote a famous compendium of Islamic law called *Minhaj al Talibîn,* which is still used throughout the world of Islam and which has recently been translated into English and French. The following paragraphs deal with marriage and divorce:

"A father can dispose as he pleases of the hand of his daughter, without asking her consent, whatever her age may be, provided she is still a virgin. It is, however, always commendable to consult her as to her future husband, and her formal consent to the marriage is necessary if she has already lost her virginity" (p. 284).

"A slave cannot have more than two wives at a time, and a free man not more than four. A marriage concluded by a free man with five wives at once is null as regards all of them, but if he marries them one after the other, the fifth one is void. Consequently the sister of the fifth wife can become the wife of the person in question, unless he must abstain from her on other grounds. Moreover, one has the right to take a fifth wife after repudiating irrevocably one of the four, even while the repudiated wife is still in her period of legal retreat; but this cannot be done if the repudiation is revocable" (p. 292).

"A free man can repudiate his wife twice, and his slave once, in a revocable way; but after this triple, or double revocation, she cannot be taken back again until she has been the legitimate wife of another man."

A wife who abjures Islam loses at the same time all right to maintenance, even though she returns to the faith before the expiry of her period of retirement; but a wife whose husband becomes an apostate continues to be maintenable by him during the whole time of her retirement.[15]

[15] *Cf. The Law of Apostasy in Islam,* Chapter II.

"At the first indication of disobedience to marital authority a wife should be exhorted by her husband without his immediately breaking off relations with her. When she manifests her disobedience by an act, which, though isolated, leaves no doubt as to her intentions, he should repeat his exhortations, and confine her to her chamber, but without striking her."

"A wife may insist upon her husband's giving her new clothes twice a year, *i. e.*, at the beginning of winter and the beginning of summer, and where it is admitted that she becomes the owner of the things, the husband is not bound to replace them in case of accidental loss" (p. 385).

These laws of marriage seem hopelessly mediœval, but they have never been abrogated. A judge of the High Court, Madras, has written a standard work on Mohammedan law for use in British India. He sums up the law of divorce as follows:

"Marriage may be dissolved in the lifetime of the husband and wife in any of the following ways: (1) By a '*talaq*"[10] or divorce pronounced by the husband or by some person duly authorized by him in that behalf. (2) By '*'ila*,' *i. e.*, the husband abstaining from connubial intercourse by the Court on the application of the wife. (4) By '*li'aṅ*,' *i. e.*, the husband comparing the wife to a person within the prohibited degrees on which the marriage may be dissolved by the Court on the application of the wife. (4) By '*li'au*,' *i. e.*, by the husband solemnly accusing his wife of adultery and on the wife denying the accusation and each respectively imprecating the curse of God, on the husband for falsely accusing, and on the wife for falsely denying the accusation,

[10] Baillie calls a separation caused by the husband pronouncing certain appropriate words a "repudiation" and all other separations for causes originating from the husband "divorces" (Baillie I, 204). The term "divorce" or "*talaq*" is used by the present author to refer to what Baillie calls repudiation.

on which marriage may be dissolved by the Court. (5) By '*khul*' or '*mubarat*,' *i. e.*, a mutual agreement between the husband and the wife to dissolve the marriage (for some consideration from the wife to the husband). (6) By the cancellation of marriage on account of physical defects in the husband or the wife. (7) By the Court separating the parties whose marriage is irregular, or has been avoided by a minor on attaining puberty, or a person of unsound mind on recovering reason.

The second and the third and sixth forms are by the act of the husband, the third and fourth partly by the act of husband and wife and partly by operation of law, the fifth by agreement, the seventh by the Court." [17]

Regarding the law of marriage, which is a contract rather than a sacrament, the legal authorities are agreed as follows:

" After a man has made the choice of a female for marriage, the law allows him to see her first. He, accompanied by some friends, goes to the house of the agent and there settles the amount of the dowry which is paid at an early day. This is called the 'writing of the contract.' The Moslem law appoints no specific religious ceremony or rites to be observed on the occasion of marriage. Mutual consent in the presence of witnesses is sufficient to make marriage valid. On the day appointed for the marriage, the bridegroom, accompanied by some friends, goes to the place agreed upon. They are received by the guardian, or agent and some friends. Two trustworthy witnesses must be present. All persons then recite the Fatiha, *i. e.*, the first chapter of the Koran, and the bridegroom delivers the dowry. The bridegroom and the agent of the bride sit upon the ground face to face and grasp each other's right hand,

[17] *Principles of Mohammedan Law*, by F. B. Tyabji, Bombay, 1924, pp. 131 ff.

raising the thumbs and pressing them against each other. Having passed a handkerchief over their heads, the Judge or *Qadi* generally pronounces a kind of *Khutba* or sermon, consisting of a few words of exhortation and prayer, with quotations from the Koran and tradition, on the excellence and advantages of marriage. He then requests the guardian or agent of the bride to say, 'I marry to thee my daughter for a dowry of such and such an amount.' The bridegroom thereon says, 'I accept from thee her marriage with myself and take her under my care and engage myself to afford her protection, and ye who are present, bear witness to this.'"

What such protection is worth can be judged by the fact that the hero of Islam in the marrying and divorcing line was Mohammed's own grandson Hassan, the son of 'Ali. "During his father's lifetime he successively married ninety or one hundred ladies, and notwithstanding his extreme good nature, divorced again, for a trifling reason, every one he had taken."[18]

Here we close the evidence from the Koran, the *Hadith,* and the books on jurisprudence. Much more might be given. Yet in spite of all these facts, modern apologists for Islam, such as Seyyid Ameer Ali, claim that:

"The prophet Mohammed secured to women in his system rights which they had not before possessed; he allowed them privileges the value of which will be more fully appreciated as time advances. He placed them on a footing of perfect equality with men in the exercise of all legal powers and functions. He restrained polygamy by limiting the maximum number of contemporaneous marriages, and by making absolute equity towards all obligatory on the

[18] *Mira't-ul-Ka'inat,* Vol. I, p. 697. This statement from a Persian book is corroborated by other accounts of Hassan's life. His sobriquet was "The Divorcer."

man. It is worthy of note that the clause in the Koran which contains the permission to contract four contemporaneous marriages, is immediately followed by a sentence which cuts down the significance of the preceding passage to its normal and legitimate dimensions. The passage runs thus: 'You may marry two, three or four wives, but no more.' The subsequent lines declare 'but if you cannot deal equitably and justly with all, you shall marry only one.' The extreme importance of this proviso, bearing especially in mind the meaning which is attached to the word 'equity' (*a'adl*) in the Koranic teachings has not been lost sight of by the great thinkers of the Moslem world. *'Adl* signifies not merely equality of treatment in the matter of lodgment, clothing, and other domestic requisites, but also complete equity in love, affection and esteem. As absolute justice in matters of feeling is impossible the Koranic prescription amounted in reality to a prohibition. This view was propounded as early as the third century of the Hegira. In the reign of al-Mamun, the first Mu'tazalite doctors taught that the developed Koranic laws inculcated monogamy. And though the cruel persecutions of the mad bigot, Mutawakil, prevented the general diffusion of their teachings, the conviction is gradually forcing itself on all sides, in all advanced Moslem communities that polygamy is as much opposed to the teachings of Mohammed as it is to the general progress of civilization and true culture." [19]

We heartily endorse the sentiment which Seyyid Ameer Ali expresses in the last clause. His apology, however, for the plural marriages of the Prophet of Arabia is utterly unconvincing. He says:

"It was to provide helpless or widowed women with subsistence in the lack of all other means. By taking them

[19] Ameer Ali, *The Spirit of Islam*, p. 188.

into his family, Mohammed provided for them in the only way which the circumstances of the age and the people rendered possible." [20]

The place given woman in Mohammedan literature is in accord with that to which she is assigned in the Koran and tradition. As far as the unexpurgated *Arabian Nights* are from King Arthur's *Knights of the Round Table,* so far is the conception of womanhood in Islam from that even of mediæval womanhood in Western lands. No higher authority on this subject could be quoted than the Dutch Orientalist, Dr. Snouck Hurgronje.

"Moslem literature," he says, "it is true, exhibits isolated glimpses of a worthier estimation of woman, but the later view, which comes more and more into prevalence, is the only one which finds its expression in the sacred traditions, which represent hell as full of women, and refuse to acknowledge in the woman, apart from rare exceptions, either reason or religion, in poems, which refer all the evil in the world to the woman as its root; in proverbs, which represent a careful education of girls as mere wastefulness. Ultimately, therefore, there is only conceded to the woman the fascinating charm with which Allah has endowed her, in order to afford the man, now and then in his earthly existence, the prelibation of the pleasures of Paradise, and to bear him children." [21]

A Persian author, Ibn Moqaffa', who embraced Islam in the second century after Mohammed, and who is considered among the best writers of his day, recommends men to watch very carefully and preserve

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[20] *Ibid.*, p. 198.
[21] Translation from *Mekka,* Vol. II, p. 187.

their friendships, for, he says, " Friends are not like women whom we can repudiate if and when we choose." This author lived in an area remarkable for its frequent practice of divorce. His book otherwise abounds in broad-minded opinions and liberal views, but the scorn of womankind dominates it like a dogma. " Nothing," so he says, " is more disastrous for religion, for the body, for well-being, for intelligence, and nothing wreaks ruin upon the mind so much as the love of women does." [22]

There are, however, gleams of light in these dark shadows of Mohammedan literature. Exceptions which prove the rule are there. We have, for example, the life of that saintly woman, Rabia', daughter of Ishmael of Basrah, who lived a century after Mohammed and who was celebrated as one of the earliest mystics. Once she was asked whether she ever thought of marrying. She answered:

" The marriage contract can be entered into by those who have possession of their free-will. As for me, I have no will to dispose of; I belong to the Lord, and I rest in the shadow of His commandments, counting myself as nothing." " But," said Hassan, " how have you arrived at such a degree of piety? " " By annihilating myself completely." Being asked on another occasion why she did not marry, she answered, " There are three things which cause me anxiety." " And what are they? " " One is to know whether at the moment of death I shall be able to take my faith with me intact. The second is whether in the Day of Resurrection the register of my actions will be placed in my right hand or not. The third is to know, when some are led to Paradise and some to hell, in which direction I shall be led." " But," they cried, " none of us know any of these things."

[22] *La Femme,* by Mansour Fahmy, p. 154.

" What! " she answered, " when I have such objects to preoccupy my mind, should I think of a husband? " [23]

One of the great mystics in Egypt was Abd-ul-Wahhab Al-Sha'arani. He died at Cairo in 1565, and his grave is still a place of pilgrimage. He advocated monogamy, and his writings are marked by a moral purity which is exceptional. He was not afraid to point out the blot on Mohammedan society, saying:

" We Sufis have entered into an engagement to espouse only one wife, and not to associate others with her. The man who has only one wife is happy; his means are sufficient to support his home; but as soon as he takes a second wife, the prosperity of his house decreases, and when he opens his money-box he finds it empty. A pure-hearted wife is a great happiness in the house. Oh, how often while I was weaving have I stolen a glance at my wife, the mother of my son Abdurahman, sewing garments for the poor. I understood then that I had happiness in my house. Often she opened her larder which sufficed us for whole months, and distributed the contents to the poor, who quickly emptied it. May God be merciful to her." [24]

As early as the third century of Islam, the classical author Jahiz, head of a philosophical sect, ventured to speak favourably of woman. Although he professes to agree entirely with the Koran, saying that man's superiority over woman is evident in everything, he nevertheless tries to persuade men to respect woman's rights, for, so he says, " He who pays reverence to the right of the father must not forget the right of the

[23] *Mystics and Saints of Islam,* by Claude Field, London, 1910.
[24] *Ibid.*

mother." He is very far, however, from the tendencies of the present time in which woman is made man's equal in all actions of life, for he holds that the woman must not turn away from those things that include her proper function. Her mission is to be a mother and a wife. And Jahiz sharply criticizes the man who either from a kind of affectation or pedantry delivers himself to occupations which are the exclusive realm for women, such as music.[25]

One may well say that century after century Islam regulated and regarded the life of woman more and more solely as centred in man's convenience and pleasure.

Al Ghazali, in the fifty century of the Moslem era, has interesting things to say on the subject. This great mystic had enormous influence on the intellectual life of Islam. He teaches that woman must in no way be independent; she is indeed unfit to earn her own living because of her social condition. He looked upon life as being so serious that woman was a costly burden which had better not be attached as a weight to one's feet.[26] After giving this opinion about woman, Ghazali prescribes how she is to behave and to regulate her life according to the ancient moralists.

" She must," he said, " lock herself up in her house and she is not to leave the place; she must not go too often to the top of her house, nor should she be seen; she must not talk too frequently to her neighbours nor go to call there; she has to look after her husband whether he be present or absent; she is to try to please him in all her doings; she must not cheat him either personally or in his property; she

[25] *La Femme*, by Mansour Fahmy, p. 155.
[26] Ghazali, *Ihya*, Vol. II, p. 22.

may only leave the house with his permission and, once outside, she must behave in such a way that she be covered if met unexpectedly; she has to use only the least frequented roads, must avoid those streets crowded by foot passengers, and she has to take great care not to be recognized.[27]

Whether one reads Arabic and Persian poetry, Turkish fairy tales, Morocco folklore or the adventures of the heroes of the *Arabian Nights,* the portraiture of woman is never pure and noble, and seldom heroic. The whole tendency of polygamy, slavery and concubinage with unlimited divorce was to create an unhealthy and degrading atmosphere,—a sex-obsession with which all Moslem literature is besmirched. One of the most popular tales of the Arabian collection tells of various escapades and crimes by princes and ends with the typical climax:

> *"Women are very devils, made to work us dole and death;*
> *Refuge I seek with God Most High from all their craft and skaith.*
> *Prime source are they of all the ills that fall upon mankind,*
> *Both in the fortunes of this world and matters of the faith."*

"It is incredible," wrote Canon W. H. T. Gairdner, "were it not a fact, how the typical erotic literature of Islam—sensual to the verge of pornography—begins as a matter of course with the time-honoured invocation of Allah and prayers upon the Apostle of Allah; an Ovid's *Ars Amoris* with a pious preface and conclusion! Not that way, God knows, lies the solution of the sex problem. Is it wonderful, then, that Lane and many others have remarked how religiosity and immorality can co-exist, often

[27] *Ibid.,* Vol. II, p. 28.

without exciting the slightest remark or the least sense of incongruity? "[28]

Professor D. B. Macdonald sums up the whole discussion regarding the position of women in Islam when he says:

"I do not think that there can be any question that the position of women in Islam is practically due to the attitude of Mohammed himself. This is pretty well admitted in the attempts which have been made—and this is the common explanation and defense of the present day—to show that Mohammed's position was peculiar; that he did these things bearing upon woman as a prophet; as a politician; as a political leader; for one reason or another. But to put the case in a word, I cannot conceive of anything that would have made such an enormous difference in the position of woman in Islam as if Mohammed, after the death of his first wife, had remain a monogamist, for one point; and if, for another point, he had encouraged his wife to go with unveiled face as was the custom and is the custom to this day, for that matter, for the free women of the desert. That would have been enough; the woman question in Islam would hardly now exist. Every Moslem would have followed in that, as in everything else, the example of his prophet. Monogamy would be the rule in Islam, while the veil would never have existed except for the insane jealousy of Mohammed."[29]

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[28] *The Rebuke of Islam*, p. 165.
[29] *Aspects of Islam*, p. 104.

VI

WOMANHOOD UNDER ISLAM

AT THE outset, three difficulties meet one who desires to give a true picture of the conditions that prevail among Mohammedan women and girls throughout the world. One is a fear that the darkness of the shadows which belong to the picture will blot out the picture itself. Another is the temptation to generalize. Islam covers whole continents, has exerted its influence for thirteen centuries, and touches many races. Climate, environment, and heredity; governments, education, and older civilizations have all entered in as factors. And, again, one must carefully and continually distinguish between the five per cent. of womanhood in the world of Islam who have received education and enlightenment, able to read and think for themselves, and the ninety-five per cent. in all lands who are illiterate, ignorant, and superstitious.

The chasm between these two classes in Egypt and Turkey, for example, is almost as great as that between Brahman and outcaste. It is also true that any attempt to trace moral or physical defects in nations to their religion is dangerous and liable to justify the retort that "Christian Europe" and "Christian America" also have dark areas and neglected classes.[1] We do not assume that the entire level of sex-morals, or the place of womanhood in all Christian countries is higher

[1] *Cf.* article by Talcott Williams, "A Moslem View of One Christian Plea," *The Moslem World,* Vol. XV, pp. 21-25.

than in all Moslem countries, but we desire to let the facts speak for themselves. Those who have given the strength of their years, the best of their love and of their life to ameliorate the lives of Moslem womanhood are trustworthy witnesses. In regard to physical conditions, we have the reports of qualified physicians. Their testimony from many lands is corroborated by government documents, where such are available.

The Moslem type of civilization can be recognized everywhere in the place assigned womanhood and by the results of this upon childhood.[2] So true is this that when one reads a standard book on the manners and customs of the modern Egyptians, like that of Lane, one has in reality a picture of Moslem home life, not only in Egypt, but in Morocco, North India, and Central Asia. The outstanding features and fundamental lines in the picture are the same; the only difference is that of local colour and of matters that are secondary. When Edward Westermarck, therefore, wrote his great work on the *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco,* he practically gave a history of Moslem marriage throughout the world, citing parallel cases among Moslems in other lands.

A threefold burden rests, as an inheritance of ill, upon childhood throughout the Moslem world, namely, the evil effects of child marriage, superstitious medical practices, and fatalism in the care of infants. One may trace the effect of these customs and beliefs, all based on Islam, in the physical and moral condition of Moslem girlhood, and find it much the same, whether in Persia or the Philippines, Manchuria or Morocco, Bulgaria or Bokhara, Cape Town or Calcutta. Heredity

[2] "What the Faith of a Moslem Woman Lacks," by Miss M. L. Johnston, *The Moslem World,* Vol. VI, p. 340.

and environment have here produced similar effects. In a symposium on Islam from a medical standpoint, physicians from Kashmir, Mombasa, Baluchistan, Palestine, Arabia, Morocco, Nigeria, and Turkey were united in their testimony that ignorance, fatalism, and superstition darken the lives of Moslem women and children, blunting the child's finer feelings and handicapping it at the outset by insanitary conditions, dirt, and neglect. In the treatment of women before and after childbirth, there is often actual cruelty, with its consequent results on the life of the child. This cruelty is not intentional, but due to ignorance, sometimes based on Islamic teaching as found in popular books called *Tubb-al-Nabawi* or Mohammed's Medicine.

The ideas promulgated in the Koran have been fixed forever because it is a divine revelation. This is especially true of those passages which contain unscientific statements concerning conception, birth, weaning, etc. The last is postponed, according to Mohammed's revelation, for two years (Surah 2:33)! We also find curious instances of errors in anatomy, such as the connection between the heart and the windpipe (Surah 56:82), and the composition of milk and blood (Surah 16:68). Both the practice of astrology and the using of charms for the evil eye find their foundation in the Koran, and superstitious efficacy is ascribed to honey as a panacea (Surah 16:71). Although the legislation as regards clothing, sleep, the bath, and food are generally hygienic, and we can specially recommend the prohibition of alcohol, the fatalistic teaching of Islam as regards epidemics is well known.[8]

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[8] Dr. Karl Opitz, *Die Medizin im Koran,* Stuttgart, 1906; Perron, *La Medecine du Prophete,* Alger, 1860; Valentin, *Les Religions Orientales Considerées dans leurs Rapports avec l'Hygiene*

Among the Kashmir Mohammedans, says Dr. Arthur Neve, " The clay from the tombs of the saints is a universal panacea. It is smeared on the affected part. In former years we frequently found even our in-patients thus anointed. Our carefully applied antiseptic dressings would be loosened in order that a dirty hand with graveyard-mud might be inserted near the wound. This led to our sticking down the deep dressings with Friar's Balsam, or even stitching the dressing to the skin. Now we have to complain less often of this superstitious folly, but it is probable that a large number of those cured in the hospital return thanks and make offerings to the *Pirs* of the tombs.

" Progress is being made and superstitions are being broken down in many directions. But in the treatment of women, in childbirth, especially of the middle classes, there is still very much neglect and actual cruelty. The ordinary Mohammedan midwife is a filthy and untrained person, who leaves in her train many septic puerperal troubles." [4]

A physician on the frontier of Baluchistan describes the superstitions, due to the degraded position of women, which,

" Blunt all their finer feelings and expose the children to the results of insanitary conditions, dirt, and neglect. A crude method of cauterization, the application of the skins of freshly flayed animals, and plastering with cow-dung, form the staple remedies of such homes, in urgent cases. Small wonder that outraged nature can usually only effect a scarred and crippled repair. Indiscriminate expectoration, and the use of the rarely washed garments of the mother to

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et la Prophylaxie des Maladies Contagieuses, Paris, 1894; Verrier, *De l'Influence du Koran sur le Progres des Sciences,* Paris, 1903.

[4] *The Moslem World,* Vol. III, p. 370.

wipe the eyes, or any part of her child's body, are mild examples of unclean habits, which are universal." [5]

The most glaring evil from a medical standpoint, and undoubtedly due to Islam, is child marriage.

" By which," wrote Dr. P. W. Brigstocke, " I mean not so much the marriage of children to one another—though that is common—but the marriage of little girls to men many years their senior. The saddest cases one has to treat in this land of sad cases are those of little girls, who ought to be enjoying games and school-life, seriously injured, if not maimed for life, as a result of this horrible practice."

Not a medical missionary, but an acute observer of the Arab woman of Tunis in her home, gives in his book an exposition of her character and degraded life, which, he says, are the result of her religion. He deals at length with the seclusion of woman and traces to it her apathy, indolence of mind, and prudery, which he considers a physical rather than a moral phenomenon. He also tells of the physical evils due to premature marriage.[6]

" Sumatra girls marry at an earlier age than perhaps in other Mohammedan lands. At the age of eight they are actually handed over to their husbands." [7]

To put all of these physical evils at the door of Islam would be unfair, but a close observer in East Arabia, who laid down her life in medical service, said:

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[5] *The Moslem World,* Vol. III, p. 370.
[6] *Moeurs Arabes,* Paris, 1914.
[7] Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achenese,* Vol. I, p. 295.

"The longer I work among Moslem women the more strongly it is being impressed on my mind what a large proportion of the physical evils met with are due directly or indirectly to the influence of Islam. The Moslem woman is the property of her husband; she exists to give him pleasure and to bear children. If she becomes incapacitated for this through ill-health, due perhaps to her confinement in close, unsanitary rooms, or because of the barbarous after-treatment of labour so commonly used, he may cast her aside, neglect her, leave her to die, divorce her, or at best allow her a colourless existence in the household presided over by another wife." [8]

"In Nigeria," says Walter R. Miller, M.D., "the most crass ignorance prevails in all cases of midwifery and gynæcology; and it is here that the greatest suffering and need prevail. I have found that a very large proportion of women are sterile after their first confinement, entirely due to the lack of asepsis and the cruel methods adopted at and after delivery. Of course, nothing is attempted in difficult cases, and the patient dies in great suffering; no man may attend. I have no hesitation in attributing the sorrow and death of the thousands of poor women here and elsewhere in Islam to the evil teaching of Islam about women. I believe its teaching in this to be directly responsible." [9]

Similar testimony comes from the Sudan, Abyssinia, Arabia, Morocco, and Persia. In Morocco Moslem women are reduced by Islam "below the level of menial slaves; under no circumstances would notaries draw up a marriage contract in which the husband however willing, desired to make a marriage for life, because they say to do so 'would be dishonouring to

[8] Christine I. Bennett, M.D., in *The Moslem World,* Vol. III, pp. 374-375. *Cf.* Chapters III and VIII in Lieut.-Colonel Villot's *Moeurs, Coutumes, et Institutions des Indigenes de l'Algerie,* Algiers, 1888, 3rd edition.

[9] *The Moslem World,* Vol. III, p. 380.

God and the prophet.' My heart has been sad beyond measure, often as these poor women related to me at the Medical Mission their griefs and sorrows." [10]

And in regard to Arabia, Dr. Paul W. Harrison wrote in the magazine *Asia:*

"The Mohammedan system is unchecked promiscuity. The Bedouin community has remained monogamous, but the oasis rather than the desert represents the system. It is one under which women have almost no rights. A little girl may be married to a man of sixty. Young or old, the wife is an inferior—a plaything or a slave." [11]

Indian Mohammedans have pointed out that the large per cent. of deaths from phthisis among their women is largely due to the wearing of the veil and seclusion in zenanas. Dr. J. C. Young, of Aden, refers to the same evil and adds, "The wearing of the veil tends to make women constitutionally weak. Thirty per cent. of all their ills are directly due to Islam." [12]

"Infant mortality," writes a medical missionary from Arabia, "is frightfully high. It is impossible to get accurate statistics, but over and over again in the daily clinics women tell me that they have had six, seven, eight or more children, all, or nearly all, of whom died in infancy, and usually these women come to the doctor for treatment so that they may bear again. It is their one chance of an undisturbed existence."

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[10] *The Moslem World,* Vol. III, p. 378, Dr. Robert Kerr.

[11] Philby, in his great work, *The Heart of Arabia* (1924), tells of a Wahhabi prince who "by frequent divorces had contracted over seventy marriages by the time this book was written and probably a hundred by the time it was published." Quoted from Professor Margoliouth's *The Present State of Islam, C. M. S. Review,* April, 1925.

[12] *The Moslem World,* Vol. III, p. 376.

Statistics collected on this subject, both from government returns and the careful investigations of travellers and medical missionaries, would be well-nigh incredible were not they mutually corroborative from every field under investigation. Even allowing for possible overestimate, we find that the infant mortality in Moslem lands is placed at from fifty to eighty per cent. The statistical returns from the Department of Health in Egypt (1913) show that over one-half of the Moslem children born, died before they were five years of age. The total number of births in Egypt in 1923 was 588,855. Of these, 194,769 died before their fifth birthday—over thirty-three per cent. As these statistics cover the whole of Egypt and include foreigners, it is evident that the infant mortality among the Moslem population is still higher.[13]

The statistics given concerning infant mortality in other lands are equally indicative of the fatal environment which the Moslem child enters at birth. In Palestine it is a common thing for a man to say he has had twenty-four children, of whom only three or four are living. A writer, speaking of infant mortality in Marsovan, says: "The children die like flies. The weaklings all perish; only the hardy have a chance to survive." A physician from Persia writes: "There are more childhood diseases here than in any place of which I know. It is estimated that the mortality is eighty-five per cent. Another estimate states that only one child out of ten reaches the age of twenty, though this may be rather an extreme opinion." The mortality of children is specially large in the great cities of the Moslem world,—Cairo, Constantinople, Bombay,

[13] *Annual Return of Births, Deaths, Etc., During 1923,* Government Press, Cairo, 1924.

Calcutta, and others. In Indian cities, the death rate among Moslem children is higher than among other classes. The health officer of Calcutta, in a recent report, says:

"Attention has already been drawn to the heavy incidence of tuberculosis among females. As the females, particularly in an Oriental city, where a large portion of them are *Purdah-nashin,* are more constantly subjected to the influence of their environment, the heavy incidence of tubercle among those residing in insanitary and congested areas indicates very clearly the powerful influence of these conditions on the prevalence of tuberculosis. Reference has already been made to the fact that the *Zenana,* or female apartments, are usually shut in and hidden away at the back of the house, and hence are particularly ill ventilated. Mohammedans suffered more severely than Hindus during 1912, the difference being most marked among the females, owing to the stricter observance of the purdah system among the poorer classes. Of every thousand children born among Mohammedans 306 die, among Hindus 248, and only 138 among non-Asiatics. One in ten of the infants born die in their first week, and these deaths are largely due to preventable causes, debility and prematurity, owing to early marriage, and tetanus owing to neglect or improper methods of treatment. In other words, thirty-three per cent. of the deaths among infants under one month are preventable. Such a state of affairs ought not to be tolerated in any civilized community."

Side by side with these intolerable physical conditions, there exist other evils, equally ugly if less tangible. The dark background of the composite picture of the world of Moslem girlhood and womanhood would be incomplete without the mention of two shadows that lie across the mind, that darken the soul, and affright

everywhere. We refer to belief in *jinn* and the remedies used to guard against or exorcise such evil spirits. One can only make a voyage along the coast, for this vast continent of Moslem superstition which holds womanhood in its grasp is as yet largely unexplored.[14]

Popular Islam is steeped in Animism with its belief in charms, talismans, sacred trees, hobgoblins, witches and ghosts. These beliefs rest on the Koran, which has a special chapter on *jinn*. *Jinn* are called forth by whistling or blowing a pipe. This, therefore, is considered an omen of evil. Before Islam, as now, certain places were considered as inhabited by the *jinn*. Graveyards and outhouses are their special resort. When entering such places, a formula must be uttered to drive them away. *Jinn* are especially busy at night and when the morning-star appears they vanish. Wherever the soil is disturbed by digging of wells or building, there is danger of disturbing the *jinn*. Whenever Mohammed changed his camp he was accustomed to have the *takbir,* " God is great," cried in order to drive them away. The whirlwind is also an evidence of the presence of *jinn*. When the cock crows or the donkey brays, women say it is because they are aware of the presence of *jinn* (Bokhari 2:182). They also dwell in animals and, as Wellhausen rightly says, " The zoology of Islam is demonology." The wolf, the hyena, the raven, the hoepoe, the owl are special favourites in this conception. A specially close connection exists between the serpent and the *jinn;* in every snake there is a spirit either good or evil. All Moslem women also

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[14] Compare, *e. g.,* L. M. Garnett, *Mysticism and Magic in Turkey,* London, 1912; Treamarne, *Hausa Superstitions* and *Ban of the Bori,* London, 1913; W. W. Skeat, *Malay Magic,* 1899; and Zwemer, *Influence of Animism on Islam,* New York, 1920.

believe in the "Double" or *qarina,* a familiar spirit that haunts children.

All human beings, non-Moslems as well as Moslems, have their familiar spirit, who is in every case jealous, malignant, and the cause of physical and moral ill, save in as far as his or her influence is warded off by magic or religion. It is just here that the belief exercises a dominating place in popular Islam. It is against this spirit of jealousy, this other-self, that children wear beads, amulets, talismans, etc. It is this other-self that through jealousy, hatred and envy prevents love between husband and wife, produces sterility and barrenness, kills the unborn child, and in the case of children, as well as of adults, is the cause of untold misery.

The *qarina* is believed often to assume the shape of a cat or dog or other household animal. So common is the belief that the *qarina* dwells in the body of a cat at night time, that neither Copts nor Moslems in Egypt would dare to beat or injure a cat after dark.

The expectant mother, in fear of the *qarina,* visits the *sheikha* (learned woman) three months before the birth of the child and does whatever she indicates as a remedy. These *sheikhas* exercise great influence over the women and batten on their superstitious beliefs, often impersonating the *qarina* and frightening the ignorant. The Moslem mother often denies the real sex of her babe for seven days after it is born in order to protect its life from the *qarina.* During these seven days she must not strike a cat or she and the child will both die. Candles are lighted on the seventh day and placed in a jug of water near the head of the child to guard it against the *qarina.* Before the child is born a

special amulet is prepared, consisting of seven grains each of seven different kinds of cereal. These are sewn up in a bag, and when the infant is born, it is made to wear it. The mother also has certain verses of the Koran written with musk water or ink on the inside of a white dish. This is then filled with water, the ink being washed off, and the contents are taken as a potion. A Sheikh told me that the last two chapters of the Koran and also Surat Al Mujadala were most commonly used for this purpose. One of the most common amulets against the *qarina,* or the child-witch, is that called the "Seven Covenants of Solomon." [15]

In Upper Egypt the bride wears a special amulet against the *qarina* fastened to her hair or elsewhere on her person. It consists of a triangular bag an inch long of coloured cloth containing seeds. The tongue of a donkey dried is also considered a most powerful charm against the *qarina,* and is used as an amulet on the house or the person. A third amulet against the *qarina* consists of a flat bronze ring three-quarters of an inch in diameter. On this they tie threads of yellow, red, and blue silk. It is then hung in the armpit of a little child to protect it. Charms and amulets against evil spirits abound everywhere. Books on the subject are printed by the thousands of copies and sent from Cairo to all Moslem lands.

In Islam magic and sorcery are firmly entrenched, being based on the teaching and practice of the prophet (Surah 11:96 ff.). Illness, especially in the case of children, is caused by *jinn.* The one remedy is therefore magic. It consists in stroking or rubbing,

[15] For a translation of this amulet see Zwemer's *Disintegration of Islam,* Chapter I.

A JAVANESE WOMAN WITH SHEAF OF RICE

The Moslem women of Java enjoy a greater freedom from the veil than their sisters in other lands. The population of Java is nearly thirty-seven million.

A TYPICAL VILLAGE MOSQUE AND STREET IN EGYPT

The projections on the minaret are utilized for hanging lanterns to celebrate the eve of the great festivals.

the tying of knots, or spitting and blowing. We have seen an educated judge in Arabia solemnly repeat chapters from the Koran and then blow upon the body of his dying child, in order to bring back health again. Many repulsive and unsanitary customs prevail in this method of healing. "What to do till the doctor comes" signifies among Moslems blowing, spitting, tying knots, and hanging of amulets.[16]

The sale of amulets of every description is carried on within a stone's throw of Al Azhar University, Cairo, and some of the professors, as well as many of the students, promote the industry. A favourite amulet, among those printed by the thousands and sent from Cairo throughout all North Africa, Central Africa, and the Near East, is the one already referred to, entitled "The Amulet of the Seven Covenants of Solomon." It consists of a strip of paper seventy-nine inches in length and four inches in breadth, lithographed, and with portions of it covered with red, yellow, green, or gold paint. The whole is then rolled up, tied, put into an amulet case of leather and silver, and worn by men as well as by women and children. After invoking God's Great Name and that of Mohammed, it begins as follows:

"An amulet for *jinns* and payment of debts, and a preserver from all secret diseases, and for travelling by land and sea, and for meeting governors, and for winning love, and for selling and buying, and for travelling by day and night: Certainly my prosperity is through God and Mohammed."

There is a peculiar ceremony for the exorcism of

[16] *Animism in Islam*, pp. 165-207.

evil spirits borrowed from pagan Africa, but prevalent throughout the world of Islam. It is called the *Zar*.[17] Evidence continues to accumulate that we deal here with a form of animistic worship which, although so long and so often concealed from Western, *i. e.*, infidel observation, is found in Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Tripoli, Egypt, the Soudan, East and West Arabia, Persia, Malaysia, and India. No direct witness to the existence of this superstition among Chinese Moslems has come from travellers or missionaries, but it would not surprise us to find it also in Yunan and in Kansu provinces.

> *"Three things good luck from the threshold bar—*
> *A wedding, a funeral, and the Zar—"*

So runs an Egyptian ditty on the lips of suffering womanhood, linking these together as a trinity of evil. Educated Moslems and the press have attempted to put down the evil, but it prevails everywhere.

"They have their houses of sorcery," writes Miss Fanny Lutton, of the Arabian Mission, "which have different names and have different ceremonies in each one. The largest and most expensive one is called 'Bait-el-Zar.' If one is afflicted with madness, or it may be some serious or incurable disease, she is taken to this house and the professionals are called; and the treatments sometimes last for days. The money extorted from the patient is exorbitant, and so, as a rule, it is only the rich who can afford to undergo this treatment. The poor are branded with a hot iron or suffer cupping (blood letting), which does not cost so very much. In these houses animals are slain and the sufferer is drenched with the blood and must drink the hot

[17] See chapter on the *Zar* in Zwemer's *Influence of Animism on Islam*.

blood as it is taken from the animal. And then the devil-dancing is performed by black slave women, and the patient is whirled around with them until she sinks exhausted."

In Cairo, the sacrificial ceremony was witnessed and described by Madame H. Rushdy Pacha.[18] She tells how, after the preliminary music, dancing, and feasting, incense is burnt and the one possessed is properly fumigated. During the process of fumigating no prayers are offered. When this is over, the dancing begins. The one possessed then takes hold of the ram which has now been brought in. She makes the tour of the room three times, acting the while like a drunken woman, amid the shrieks of the other women in the room. The ram is then dragged by the possessed to the door, where it is butchered. The possessed re-enters, preceded by the *goudia,* who carries a tray filled with jewels covered with the blood of the ram. In fact everybody gets covered with it. The air becomes hot with incense and smoke. And when at last the women fall down on the ground, the *goudias* go around touching them on the ears and breathe on them, whispering words in their ears, presumably from the Koran. After a while they regain their places as if nothing has happened.[19]

It all seems dark and discouraging, but even here Islam offers points of contact and contrast that may well be used by the missionary. Christianity's message and power must be applied to the superstitions of Islam, and especially to these pagan practices. The

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[18] *Harems et Musulmanes d'Egypte,* Paris.

[19] All the paraphernalia used for these dreadful *zar* ceremonies,—caps, belts, masques, daggers, etc.—are for sale at special shops in Cairo. One famous shop is near the Mohammedan University.

fear of spirits can be met by the love of the Holy Spirit; the terror of death by the repose and confidence of the Christian; true exorcism is not found in the *zar,* but in prayer; so-called demoniac possession can often be cured by medical skill; and the superstition rooted out by education. Jesus Christ is the Lord of the unseen world, especially the world of demons and angels. Christ points out the true ladder of Jacob and the angels of God ascending and descending upon the Son of Man—He is the sole channel of communication with the other world. With Him as their living, loving Saviour and Friend, Moslem women need no longer fear "the arrow that flieth by day nor the pestilence that walketh in darkness."

We finally present pictures from competent observers of things as they are in this world of ignorance and illiteracy, of suffering and superstition. Travellers, Orientalists, missionaries, as well as educated Moslem men and women are summoned to the witness stand. Their testimony varies with the climate, the race, the government, and the degree of civilization of the area concerned, but it is cumulative.

We begin with North Africa. In Morocco the factors of a woman's life are those of her sisterhood everywhere, and until the recent French occupation, conditions were worse than in other lands of North Africa.

"Many a better-class woman enters her home as a bride in the carriage which so carefully conceals her and sees but four whitewashed walls for the remainder of her days, nor leaves their monotony until carried out in her coffin. Divorce is fearfully common and easy. Plurality of wives is an awful curse. The chief features of home life are quar-

rels, intrigues, and attempted poisoning and rankling bitterness." [20]

"In Morocco it is the universal rule that the parents of the girl marry her without asking her for her consent. But where the separation between the sexes is so strict as it is in many places in Morocco, this interference on the part of the parents can hardly be felt as a burden by the young man, especially as he can readily divorce a wife whom he does not like; and for the girl it would be no easy matter to choose between suitors whom she does not know." [21]

The curious reader will find in Westermarck full details regarding the ceremony of betrothal, the payment of the dowry, the significance of the trousseau, the ceremonies in the bridegroom's house previous to the fetching of the bride, the ceremonies in the bride's home preparatory to the wedding, the wedding proper, the morning after and its later ceremonies, and taboos. All of the customs stamp inferiority on the bride and, needless to say, superstitious practices are connected not only with Moorish marriages.

Silence is golden when we discover in scientific monographs the conditions under which women have lived for centuries, for the dark places of the Moslem world are full of the habitations of cruelty.[22]

Mr. Dalrumple Belgrave is one of the few travellers

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[20] Letter from a missionary. *Cf. The Moslem World,* Vol. XI, p. 24.

[21] Westermarck, *Marriage in Morocco,* pp. 18-19.

[22] For an account of women in Senegal and in the French Sudan, see *Les Khassonke,* by Charles Monteil, Paris, 1915, and *L'Islam au Senegal,* by Paul Marty. Both of these monographs contain much detail on the physical and religious practices of Moslems on the border marches where Islam and Paganism mingle. Their conclusion is that Islam degrades African manners and morals. On the fearful customs of the Mohammedans in Nubia, see the article by a medical missionary in *The Moslem World,* Vol. VI, p. 156.

who have visited the Oasis of Siwa, south of Tripoli, and his account is, therefore, the more interesting. Here we see Islam without European influence.

" The status of woman in Siwa is low. She is worthless and is of less importance than a donkey. She is worth in money a little less than a goat. There is a strange custom in Siwa, which is absolutely different to that among the Arabs or the Egyptians. There is a fixed price for a woman; that is to say, the ' marriage money ' paid by the man to his future wife's parents is in all cases exactly the same—120 piastres (£1 4s.). It makes no difference whether the girl is young or old, maid or widow, rich or poor, exquisitely beautiful, which is rare, or hideously ugly, which is common; the only thing that varies is the trousseau of clothes which is given by the man to his bride, and the quality of this depends on his means."

" Men marry at sixteen, and girls from nine to twelve years old, so a girl of eleven has often been married and divorced several times. This state of things is simply the ordinary Mohammedan custom as regards marriage, but carried on in an absolutely lax manner. It has always been the same in Siwa, and so it is considered right and proper. It must be so confusing for the people to remember who is So-and-so's wife for the time being. Naturally the prevailing conditions have a very disastrous effect on the birth-rate." [23]

Women are considered especially apt as witches and sorceresses.

" This is the reason that any skill that the Siwan woman possesses in medicine, making amulets, or tracing lost property, is as a matter of course, ascribed to their evil practices and their use of black magic, whereby they are able to

[23] *Siwa the Oasis of Jupiter Amnon,* London, 1923, pp. 213-215.

invoke demons, ghouls and afreets to carry out their orders, either for good or for evil. For this reason they keep their doings as secret as possible and this secrecy increases their notoriety and evil reputation." [24]

Of our Moslem sisters in Egypt, one who lived among them for four decades wrote: "As a babe she is unwelcome; as a child untaught; as a wife unloved; as a mother unhonoured; in old age uncared for; and when her miserable dark and dreary life is ended she is unmourned by those she has served." Every line in this thumb-sketch can be traced with terrible exactitude in the census returns of the government or the daily experiences related at Welfare Centres and hospitals by the fellahin women of the Delta or those of the great cities.

In Egypt, however, domestic slavery has ceased and polygamy is a dying institution. Its death-blow has been struck because educated Moslems are beginning to be ashamed of it and doctors of Mohammedan law are beginning to interpret the law to mean that Mohammed allowed a man to have four wives on the condition that he could treat all alike; and since human nature makes that condition next to an impossibility, therefore, Mohammed meant for a man to have only one wife!

It is good to record that in spite of the introduction of Islamism, "polygamy has never taken any root among the Moslem Albanians, a fact which is in itself very suggestive and characteristic. The lax rules of the Sacred Law of Mohammedanism in regard to divorce are neutralized in Albania by the dictates of moral law and public opinion. The low percentage of

[24] *Ibid.*, pp. 213-215.

divorce among both the Christians and the Moslems is undoubtedly due to the high standard of morality which is current throughout the country." [25]

Persia and Central Asia, however, show the results of a religion which penetrates as well as spreads. "In Persia," says the Russian Consul-General Ponafidine, "according to the *Shariat* (Moslem law) there are two forms of marriage, either the permanent one, when a wife is known as an '*agde*,' or a temporary arrangement, with the length of time from an hour to ninety-nine years indicated. Such wives are termed '*seges*,' and the number of such wives that a man may have is unlimited. As both forms of marriage are considered equally binding, the children of both have equal rights. Availing themselves of this privilege, Persians who spend some time in distant cities, where they have business or where they have gone on a pilgrimage, enter into a temporary matrimony. In cities like Meshed, where many thousand pilgrims congregate, a flourishing business is carried on by mullahs who have a large number of women living in their houses ready to be married. The mullah, on finding a candidate for his protegé's hand, gets paid for the marriage contract as well as for her board while she lives in his house. At the end of the term, and having received from her husband the promised sum, the woman returns to the house of her spiritual benefactor and impatiently awaits the expiration of the four months that must pass before the new contract can be concluded. This term is, however, not always so strictly observed as it should be. The *Shariat* permits a woman's marrying only three times, but the obliging mullahs are always

[25] Constantine A. Chekrezi, *Albania Past and Present*, New York, 1919.

ready to overlook such a small matter." He goes on to say:

"There remains one other form of marriage existing that is not given either in the Koran or the Shariat and yet is practised in Persia. This is a contract between bachelors and women who are deprived of the hope of becoming mothers, '*Yaese,*' hopeless. In this case the religious ceremony performed by a mullah is unnecessary; a certain formula is simply repeated by both, naming the sum decided by mutual consent and the duration of the term of marriage—from hours or days to months—upon which they have agreed. At the end of the term, the couple separate and the '*Yaese*' is again free to marry in the same way. Such partnerships are looked upon as being quite honourable." [26]

"A study of the laws governing divorce," says the same authority, "cannot but convince one that the arguments given are to support two conditions, namely, facilitation of divorce for men, and difficulties of obtaining the same for women; and secondly, protection of the husband from any attempt on the part of the wife to get him to support a child about his being the father of which there might be no doubt. In view of this last clause a certain 'period of proof' is appointed for a divorced woman before she may marry again. All the laws concerning a divorce fall with greatest weight on the woman." [27]

"It is evident that there must be a constant jealousy, distrust and suspicion among the wives, who keep watch over each other, and especially over their children. This latter precaution is not only caused by imaginary fears,—dark stories could be told by barren wives towards other wives expecting to become mothers or towards the sons born to these rivals. Poison is often resorted to in the

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[26] *Life in the Moslem East,* London, 1911, pp. 321-324.
[27] *Life in the Moslem East,* London, 1911, p. 311.

harems, and advantage is taken of cholera, when the symptoms caused by arsenic and other poisons may easily pass for that disease. Owing to the inaccessibility of the harems, suspicion can never be followed up by investigations."

"Once a young woman came to me to complain of her husband who had taken a third young wife, and had driven her, the first, into the street. During the examination that followed I endeavoured to get the husband to grant at least legal rights. The husband was a very respectable man, and in answer to my arguments he suddenly exclaimed: 'Don't try to defend her, Sahib, she is not worth it; she has poisoned both the children of my other wives.'"[28]

We turn from Persia to Turkestan and Central Asia. Of conditions there the geographer and explorer, Rickmers, writes:

"On Russian territory even male explorers have opportunities of studying the appearance of the other sex, but in Bokhara the conspicuous woman is conspicuous by her absence. No man ever sets eye upon a lady not his own, for in the street she is nothing but a perambulating sack with a black horsehair screen where the face is likely to be. All architecture and domestic arrangements are influenced by the traditional seclusion of the women, who live in a strictly separate part of the house often having its own courtyard and its own pond. They never formed part of the various scenes of native life which our intercourse with the people enabled us to witness. Only now and again one meets them at dawn or nightfall, stealing out furtively to fetch water. They shrink at the sight of a stranger and veil themselves in all haste though their share of the curiosity attributed to the sex generally prompts them to take a good look themselves at the passers-by.

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[28] *Ibid.*, p. 323.

" Our ladies sometimes saw the inside of the harems and my wife reports as follows: ' We visited the widow of Mansour surrounded by friends who for a period of forty days bewail with her the loss of her husband. The women were all dressed in dark khalats, the widow herself in that of her husband, a blue one. There were a considerable number of old hags present, furrowed and toothless. The children, of whom the usual quantity abounded, were suffering from sore eyes, a result of the all-pervading dirt amid which they live, and the pestering flies, too, take advantage of defenceless babies.' " [29]

" On the whole, women make the impression of children, and in the outlying districts of savage children. This comes of being shut up and confined to a narrow circle without a chance of developing knowledge or independence. They are inexpressibly filthy in the villages and are everywhere on a far lower social grade than the men. One may say that the highest woman in the land is inferior to the lowest man. Children they have in abundance but, as more than half of them die in infancy, their labours in this department seem somewhat vain.

" Woman is a cheap article in Bokhara. A man in search of a wife can get one in exchange for several sheep and a little money, or a horse, as the case may be. Those higher in the social scale and better endowed with the world's goods know no restrictions except those imposed by their own conscience or caution. A few years ago a brother of the Amir died, leaving no less than twenty-eight wives to mourn his loss, together with about a hundred children. The ladies were distributed amongst the various provincial governors of the Khanate, who have no choice in the matter." [30]

According to the geographer Ellsworth Huntington: " Khotan and Keriya have the reputation of being the

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[29] *The Duab of Turkestan,* Cambridge, 1913, p. 102.
[30] *The Duab of Turkestan,* Cambridge, 1913, p. 104.

most immoral cities in central Asia, and other places are but little better. Not only is there an enormous proportion of women who confessedly lead lives of impurity, but divorce and temporary legal marriages are extremely common. These are so cheaply and easily arranged and marriage ties are so lightly esteemed, that a so-called respectable woman may have three or four husbands in a year, and a husband, similarly, may legally marry several successive wives in a year, and two or three score in a lifetime. Of course, in many cases the same husband and wife live together permanently, especially among the peasants, but it is easy to see the deplorable results to which the prevailing system must lead." [31]

We might expect similar conditions among the wild tribes of the Afghan frontier, but there are noble traits among these hardy mountaineers, as we learn from a medical missionary who laid down his life for them.

"Notwithstanding," wrote the late Dr. T. L. Pennell, "the state of servitude in which the Afghan women are kept, and their crass ignorance and superstition, they have great power in their home circles, and mould the characters of the rising generation more even than the fathers.

"This fact was brought home very forcibly to me one day in school. A subject had to be fixed on for the next meeting of the school debating society. Various subjects had been proposed and negatived. I suggested, 'Who has the most influence in moulding our characters—our fathers or our mothers?' 'How could we have so one-sided a debate?' responded half a dozen boys at once. 'Who could be found to argue for the fathers? Of course, our mothers have all the influence.'" [32]

They have influence, and yet as "in all Mohammedan

[31] Ellsworth Huntington, *The Pulse of Asia*, Boston, 1907.
[32] *Among the Wild Tribes of the Afghan Frontier*, p. 200.

countries, women hold a very inferior, almost humiliating position, being regarded as very distinctly existing for the requirements of the stronger sex. In Afghanistan they labour under this additional hardship, that the men are nearly all cruel and jealous to a degree in their disposition, and among the lower sections of the community the severe conditions of life compel the women to labour very hard and continuously—labour which the men think it beneath their dignity to lighten or share." [33]

"When on the march the women are heavily loaded, they can often be seen not only carrying the children and household utensils, but driving the pack animals, too, while the lordly men are content to carry only their rifle, or at most, give a lift to one of the children. Yet it is not because the men are callous, but because it is the custom. Their fathers and forefathers did the same, and the women would be the first to rebuke a young wife who ventured to complain or object.

"Some of the women of the Povindah tribe are splendid specimens of robust womanhood. These people travel hundreds of miles from Khorassan to India, carrying their families and household goods with them, and the women can load and manage the camels almost as well as the men, and carry burdens better. The outdoor, vigorous, active life has made them healthy, muscular, and strong, and buxom and good-looking withal, though their good looks do not last so long as they should were their life less rough. But when a baby is born, then comes the suffering. The caravan cannot halt, and there is seldom a camel or an ox available for the woman to ride. She usually has to march on the next day, with the baby in her arms or slung over her shoulder, as though nothing had happened. Then it is that they endure sufferings which bring them to our hospital, often injured for life; if there is no hospital—well—they just suffer in silence, or they die." [34]

[33] *Ibid.*, p. 190.
[34] *Among the Wild Tribes of the Afghan Frontier*, p. 192.

"The fine physique and good health of the hill Afghans and nomadic tribes is largely due to the fact that their girls do not marry till full grown, not usually till over twenty, and till then they lead healthy, vigorous, outdoor lives. They form a great contrast to the puny Hindu weaklings, the offspring of the marriages of couples scarcely in their 'teens." [85]

Mr. Marshall Broomhall has collected a great deal of the information available on Chinese Mohammedans:

"Though in most cases dressed like his Chinese fellow-subjects, the Moslem can be detected not only by his different religious habits and customs, but by his physiognomy and bearing alone.

"The women in some parts dress differently to their Chinese sisters, and wear a sort of turbaned hat, though opinion is fairly agreed that in the greater part of China, even when the men can easily be distinguished, the women are not so easily recognized. There is almost universal testimony to the fact that there are comparatively few opium smokers among them. Even in the opium-cursed province of Yunnan, Mrs. Rhodes, in visiting among Moslem homes, never came across a Moslem woman smoking opium." [86]

"Arabic is generally used for the inscriptions which adorn their homes, and these are frequently written with white ink on blue paper, instead of black on red paper, as is customary with the Chinese. They greet one another with Arabic salutations, and have also some distinguishing sanitary habits peculiar to themselves." [87]

"The women have mosques of their own. Of the ten mosques in Chowkiakow, Honan, three are for women, and

[85] *Ibid.*, p. 195.
[86] Broomhall, *Islam in China*, p. 223.
[87] *Ibid.*, p. 226.

these mosques were exclusively set apart for them and are in the charge of female attendants." [38]

Among the Chinese a husband may not go upon a long journey for at least a year, nor may he take a concubine without his wife's consent. It is a noteworthy fact, and a testimony to the beneficent influence of Confucian ethics that none of the Chinese Moslem literature contains any references to the characteristic paradise of the Koran. Did such passages occur, the religion as a religion would be hopelessly condemned by Chinese public opinion. This does not mean to say that the Chinese as a people are more moral in practice than other nations, but their standards are high and, as is well known, no passage occurs in the Confucian classics that could not be read aloud without objection in a public drawing-room.[39]

The state of the Javanese women is far superior to that of women in other Mohammedan lands. The veil is not used, the woman is neatly dressed and engages in all manner of outdoor and indoor work, including weaving, *batik* work (designing in wax), trade, as well as agriculture. Yet polygamy exists in fifty per cent. of the Javanese homes. Marriages take place as early as the seventh or tenth year. Among the causes for these early marriages are the great desire for a large family. They are also ignorant of the consequences of following this ancient custom. The dowry, formerly twenty guldens, is now five. In some districts polygamy has increased; in others it has decreased.[40]

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[38] *Chinese Recorder,* 1892, p. 57.
[39] Broomhall, *Islam in China,* p. 232.
[40] *Verheffing van de Inlandsche Vrouw,* Batavia, 1914, a Government document.

The Government document reporting these conditions contains a number of contributions written by Moslem women, one of them by the editor of a Javanese woman's journal. She says:

" Polygamy in reality is the source of many evils for both sexes and the chief cause of inequality, neglect, and all marital difficulties. I know of a case where a young woman whose husband was to marry a second wife committed suicide by throwing herself before a railway train; of others who have killed their children and then themselves for similar reasons. We are told that the remedy for domestic difficulties is the whip, and they quote a proverb of ' ploughing your land with a buffalo and a cow,' comparing women to the brutes. They read us pious lessons and promise us reward in Paradise, saying that the woman who treats the second wife of her husband kindly will be his first wife in a Paradise of sixteen hundred and forty angelic wives. Alas! such promises are futile! One rival wife is quite enough! What shall we do if we have so many rivals? "[41]

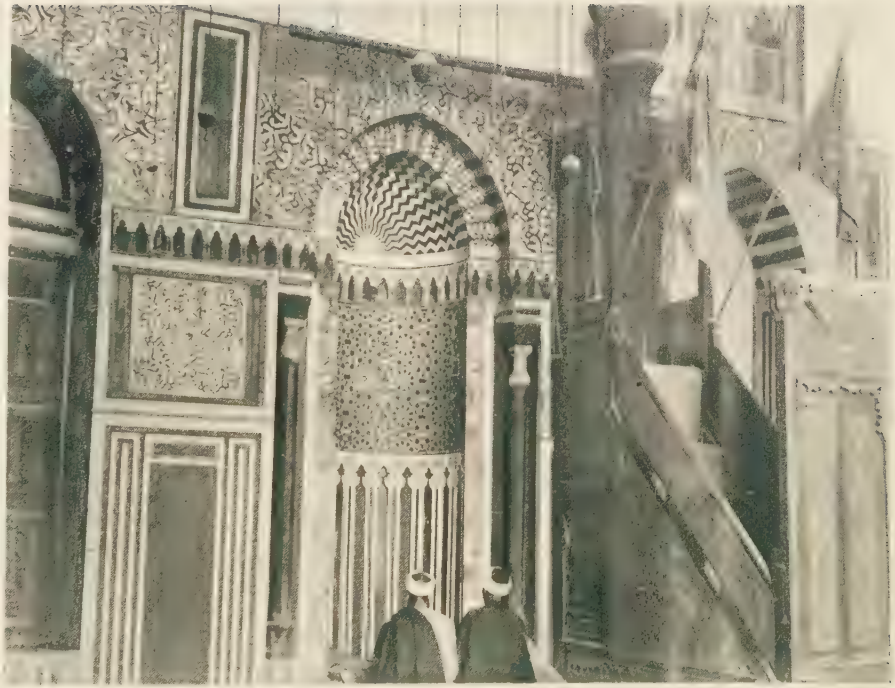
No Moslem woman has ever written a more eloquent plea for light and life and freedom than did the celebrated Javanese Princess Raden Adjeng Kartini. Her published letters mark an epoch in the social history of her people. First published at the Hague in 1911 under the title, *Door Duisternis tot Licht* (*" From Darkness to Light "*), they were collected and edited by Dr. J. H. Abendanon, former Minister of Education and Industry for the Netherlands, India. Many of the letters were written to him and to his wife, whom she called " Moedertje," my little mother.

When the letters were published in Holland, they

[41] *Verheffing van de Inlandsche Vrouw,* p. 32.

COURT IN THE MOSQUE OF AHMAD IBN TULUN, CAIRO (876 A.D.)

This is among the oldest of architectural monuments. Five rows of arches form the cloister on the southeast or Mecca side of the building.



PULPIT IN THE SO-CALLED BLUE MOSQUE, CAIRO

To the left is the highly decorated *mihrab* or prayer niche toward Mecca. Above the pulpit are two flags used in religious processions.

aroused much interest and awakened a warm sympathy for the writer. She was the young daughter of a Javanese Regent, one of the " Princesses " who grew up and blossomed in sombre obscurity and seclusion, leading their monotonous and often melancholy lives within the confines of a palace.

Suddenly a voice was heard from the depth of this unknown land. It rose from behind the high protecting wall of seclusion to plead for sixteen million Javanese girls and women. She was shut in by aristocratic traditions and living virtually imprisoned, as became a young " Princess " of Java; but she sang of her longing for life and work, and her voice rose clearer and stronger. It penetrated to the distant Netherlands and was heard there with wonder and with delight.

Kartini was born at Japara and never left her beloved Java. On the 13th of September, 1904, four days after the birth of her son, she died, being just twenty-five years old. She did not live to see the work that has been begun in her name during the last twenty years. To-day there are " Kartini Schools " in many parts of Java. The influence of her life and teachings is perhaps greater than that of any other woman in Malaysia. Here are extracts from some of her letters:

" Love is a will o' the wisp in our Javanese world! How can a man and a woman love each other when they see each other for the first time in their lives after they are already fast bound in the chains of wedlock?

" I shall never fall in love. To love, there must first be respect, according to my thinking; and I can have no respect for the Javanese young men. How can I respect a man who is married and a father, and who, when he has had enough of the mother of his children, brings another woman into the house, and is, according to the Moham-

medan law, legally married to her? And who does not do this? And why not? It is no sin, and still less a scandal. The Mohammedan law allows a man to have four wives at the same time. And though it be a thousand times over no sin according to Mohammedan law and doctrine, *I shall forever call it a sin.* I call all things sin which bring misery to a fellow creature. Sin is to cause pain to another, whether man or beast. And can you imagine what hell-pain a woman must suffer when her husband comes home with another—a rival—whom she must recognize as his legal wife? He can torture her to death, mistreat her as he will; if he does not choose to give back her freedom, then she can whistle to the moon for her rights. Everything for the man, and nothing for the woman, is our law and custom." [42]

" There was a woman who became wife number two of a native official. The first wife, who was not quite right in her head, after a little went away from him, leaving behind a whole troop of children. Number two became the official wife and was a painstaking, loving mother to her step-children; she was very diligent and worked hard to save something from the income of her husband; so that later they would be able to educate his children. And it was thanks to her that the sons turned out so well. Now I come to the thanks. Once when her husband had gone to the city he came back home late at night, and called his wife outside. A guest had come within for whom she must care and make ready a room. The guest was a young woman, and when her husband told her that the guest was his wife and that she, his older wife, must thenceforth share everything with her, at first she was stunned, for she did not understand. She only stood and looked at him. But when the frightful truth penetrated to her brain, she sank without a single word to the ground." [43]

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[42] *Letters of a Javanese Princess,* New York, 1920, p. 17.
[43] *Ibid.,* p. 146.

And the pathos of this letter is repeated in many of the others of the Javanese " Princess."

India has a larger Mohammedan population than any other country in the world. In Bengal alone there are more Moslem women than in all Arabia, Persia and Afghanistan. It is therefore the more fitting to have the testimony of conditions among these well-nigh thirty-five million women who are under the yoke of Islam in India, from the pen of an educated Mohammedan. Mr. S. Khuda Bukhsh is a graduate of an English university, a scholar and a writer. In his remarkable *Essays Indian and Islamic,* he contrasts the conditions of the recent past and those of to-day as follows:[44]

" Forty years ago women meekly submitted to neglect, indifference, and even harsh treatment from their husbands, but such is the case no longer. They claim, and indeed, have succeeded in securing, a decided position in their households (no longer the position of a housekeeper), and cases are not rare of women completely controlling the movements of their husbands, and holding the strings of the purse. Eastern women are by no means now those poor, suffering, patient, and unfortunate creatures whom the missionaries fondly delight to describe as the women of the East. Education, though very imperfect still, is daily gaining ground, and with education new hopes have dawned upon them; and, possibly, the sex question may, in the remote future, become as acute here as it is in the West. The more educated families have done away with the purdah altogether."

" It is incontestible that the improvement in the social status of women, here as elsewhere, is due to a large extent

[44] S. Khuda Bukhsh, *Essays Indian and Islamic,* London, 1912, pp. 253-259, *passim.*

to European influence, which is predominant throughout the East. In the East women have always been regarded as child-bearing machines, and hence they have never risen to that position and eminence in which we find them to-day all over Europe. It is true that the East has produced women of high culture and political insight, but these are exceptions and not the rule; the average woman has always been what we have described as 'a child-bearing machine,' devoted solely to domestic affairs. When Haji Baba tells us how he showed himself a true Moslem by his contempt for womankind, he expressed a universal truth openly accepted and publicly avowed in Eastern countries. What is the cause of this low estimate in which women are held? True, European influence has largely alleviated their lot, has considerably widened their outlook on life, has invested them with rights and rescued them from oppression; but to our mind the true emancipation of womankind must indefinitely be put off so long as the system of polygamy flourishes, drawing its sanction from religion." [45]

"The author of *Reforms under Moslem Rule* seeks to make out that polygamy is an institution which Islam does not sanction, but I am not quite sure that he is right. At all events, the unanimity and consensus of opinion is the other way. It may, with growth of education and freedom of women, die out, but the question which we must decide, and that once for all, is, whether it is an institution compatible with present-day notions. The question, then, resolves itself into this: is this institution to be retained or done away with? Is it conducive to the interest of society or otherwise? If the general sense of the Mohammedan world condemns it as pernicious to the stability, happiness, comfort and peace of the family, let it be expunged from our law. If it approves it, retain it by all means. I do not believe in the argument constantly put forward that the con-

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[45] *Cf.* article by Lady Sydenham, "Mohammedan Women in India," in *The Moslem World,* Vol. VII, p. 294.

ditions which the Koran imposes upon its practice are too difficult of realization, and, as such, according to the strict letter of the law, the practice cannot be supported or sustained. For this is no answer to the question raised here.

"Is the institution *per se* good or bad? Is it beneficial to the interest, or subversive of the well-being of society? There can be no two opinions on this point. To our mind, the social corruption behind the zenana is, to a large extent, due to this system. It is a fruitful source of discord, strife, harassing litigations, the ruin of many wealthy families. Nor can we ignore the fact that it is this system which is responsible in no small degree for the degraded view of womanhood current in the East. It is impossible to expect among a polygamous people that exalted idea of wedded life which we would expect, and which we do, as a matter of fact, find among those that are monogamous. Take a European and an Indian home and see the contract. The wife in the West is a friend, a companion who is never in that mortal terror of a rival to contest or to supplant the affection of her husband in which a wife in the East is. The Eastern wife may at any moment be dislodged by another, and relegated to everlasting sorrow and perpetual gloom. This idea colours the whole life of our women. They are meek and submissive, humble and accommodating, patient and painstaking; but this in most of the instances, not by choice but by compulsion. There is not that relation which is founded upon the equality of rights; that feeling of oneness which the ceremony at the altar at once creates, strengthens and perpetuates. There is not that feeling of fellowship and partnership of two human beings linked together to toil through life's journey, in weather foul or fair, and to remain one unto death in the eye of the law without the darkening shadow of a rival, of a co-wife or a concubine. Hence the supreme difference between a Mohammedan and a Christian marriage. While the former is merely a contractual relation liable to termination at the will and caprice of one of the contracting parties, the other

is a deeply religious function, sanctified and consecrated by the Church, and to be severed only by death."

"Polygamy and divorce generally go hand in hand. In Eastern Bengal divorce is the order of the day, and wives are put away as we cast off our old clothes. And so also in Egypt and in Arabia. No judicial inquiry, no positive proof, not a title of evidence of any sort is needed. The lord of creation is invested with the power of divorce, and he makes full and free use of it. Is a high regard and reverence for womankind conceivable under a system such as this? Marriage becomes only one remove from promiscuous intercourse. Its significance, sanctity, importance in domestic life is destroyed, and women become mere instruments to satisfy passion and gratify lust."

"Whatever may have been the origin of the purdah system, it is clear enough that it is founded in the belief, though not openly confessed clear enough, that women cannot be trusted to themselves; that the female sense of virtue, piety, chastity is too frail and feeble to withstand the temptations of free social intercourse. In no other light is the existence of this system to be explained or justified."

"I may be charged with drawing a picture of our society in colours far worse than it is; but I am confident that no thoughtful man will disagree with me that these are defects, most vital defects which we must seriously attempt to remove and set right. The barbarous and wanton waste of money on wedding festivities, the perverse prejudice against widow-marriage, and the equally perverse system of early marriages, are evils too patent to be passed over in silence. Nor shall we omit to point out that iniquitous system, obtaining very largely in Behar, the system of keeping good-looking female servants and a retinue of female slaves who usually give to the children their earliest lessons in vice and immorality."

"True, within the last quarter of a century there has been a distinct and pronounced tendency to check these evils, but there is not yet a deliberate, strenuous, persistent

effort to destroy them, root and branch. Occasional voices, indeed, do we hear protesting against them, but they fall on unwilling ears. The Moslem societies, in our opinion, should take it upon themselves to grapple with these problems, to arouse an interest in them, to bring home to our people the necessity of united and concerted effort to purify the stream of domestic life and social system."

We have quoted these noble, brave words at length because they are proof that reform has begun from within. The educated classes are the leaders who will usher in a new day. And they are fully conscious that, in the social world, also, the darkest hour is often just before the dawn.

Pierre Loti, in his celebrated novel *Disenchanted*, reveals the same heart-hunger among the educated women of Turkey who live in seclusion, as is voiced by the Javanese princess. Nor are these conditions a thing of the past. They still exist. There has been reform and progress, but for ninety per cent. of Mohammedan womanhood the cry of pain is not yet hushed. It rises to heaven. We close this discussion and end our array of witnesses with two great authorities on the social institutions of Islam, neither of whom could be accused of expressing a prejudiced view or one based on insufficient evidence. Stanley Lane Poole, historian, archæologist, and professor of Arabic at Trinity College, Dublin, wrote:

"Kind as the prophet was himself towards his bondswomen, one cannot forget the unutterable brutalities which he suffered his followers to inflict upon conquered nations in the taking of slaves. The Moslem soldier was allowed to do as he pleased with any 'infidel' woman he might meet with on his victorious march. When one thinks of the

thousands of women, mothers and daughters, who must have suffered untold shame and dishonour by this license, he cannot find words to express his horror. And this cruel indulgence has left its mark on the Moslem character, nay, on the whole character of Eastern life." [46]

Dr. C. Snouck Hurgronje, of Leiden University, in his lectures at Columbia University, spoke of the movement toward emancipation of womanhood in Islam and expressed his hope that " if social evolution takes the right course, the practice of polygamy will be abolished; and the maintenance of its lawfulness in canonical works will mainly be a survival of a by-gone phase of development."

" But the facility with which a man can divorce his wife at his pleasure, contrasted with her rights against him, is still more of a serious impediment to the development of family life than the institution of polygamy; more serious than veiling and seclusion of women. Where the general opinion is favourable to the improvement of the position of women in society, there is always found a way to secure it to them without conflicting with the divine law; but a radical reform will remain most difficult so long as that law which allows the man to repudiate his wife without any reason, whereas it delivers the woman almost unarmed into the power of her husband, is considered to be one of the permanent treasures of Islam.

" It is a pity indeed that thus far women vigorously striving for liberation from those mediæval institutions are rare exceptions in Mohammedan countries. Were Mohammedan women capable of the violent tactics of suffragettes, they would rather try to blow up the houses of feminists than those of the patrons of the old régime. The ordinary Mohammedan woman looks upon the endeavour of her

[46] *Selections from the Koran,* Preface to the 2nd edition.

husband to induce her to partake freely in public life as a want of consideration; it makes on her about the same impression as that which a respectable woman in our society would receive from her husband encouraging her to visit places generally frequented by people of bad reputation. It is the girls' school that will awaken those sleeping ones and so, slowly and gradually, prepare a better future, when the Moslem woman will be the worthy companion of her husband and the intelligent educator of her children. This will be due, then, neither to the prophet's *Sunnah* nor to the infallible Agreement of the Community of the first centuries of Islam, but to the irresistible power of the evolution of human society, which is merciless to laws even of divine origin and transfers them, when their time is come, from the treasury of everlasting goods to a museum of antiquities." [47]

[47] *Mohammedanism,* New York, 1916, pp. 146-147.

VII

THE MOSQUE AS A PLACE OF WORSHIP

EVEN as the religious architecture in India is largely based on the beliefs of the people and their spiritual ideals, and as in Christian architecture the church, *ekklesia,* or gathering place of believers, has been the determining factor, so the story of Islam from its very origin can be read in the arches and colonnades, the minarets and saints' tombs of the Moslem world. The story of Christianity can be read in the sculptures and mosaics of St. Mark's Church at Venice, and we know that the early basilica was modeled after the Greek temple. Later the Gothic arch made possible the great cathedrals of Europe with their elaborate altars and pulpits, while the modern community church has adapted its architecture rather to social service and the need for a comfortable auditorium. In similar fashion we can read something of the development of Islam in its mosque architecture. Large or small, built of costly alabaster, as on the citadel-hill of Cairo, or built of baked mud, as in West Africa, the mosque is the place of prayer for two hundred million believers in Mohammed's mission. The first *muczzin,* Billal, at Medina in the sixth century, never dreamed when he climbed to the roof of his hut that he would have so many successors.

The old, almost unknown, pagan pantheon at Mecca has become the religious shrine and the centre of a universal pilgrimage for one-seventh of the human race.

Islam in its present extent embraces three continents and counts its believers from Sierra Leone in Africa to Canton in China, from Tobolsk, Siberia, to Singapore and Jāva. In Tiflis, Moslems spread their prayer-carpets southward toward Mecca; at Zanzibar they look northward to the Holy City; in Kansu and Shensi millions of Chinese Moslems pray toward the west, and in the great Sahara they look eastward toward the Beit Allah with its sacred Black Stone,—one vast Moslem brotherhood. If we regard numbers, Islam is perhaps the mightiest of all the non-Christian religions; as regards its geographical distribution, it is the only religion beside Christianity which holds a world-empire of hearts in its grasp; and its wonderful and rapid spread proves beyond a doubt that it is a great missionary religion and aims at world-conquest. Mohammed's word has been fulfilled: "So we have made you the centre of the nations that you should bear witness to men" (Surah 2:143).

The English word "mosque" is derived from the Arabic root *sajada,* to worship, hence *masjid,* signifying "place of prostration" or "worship." The term is found in various forms in all European languages. The observance of prayer at stated times during the day, which is so characteristic of Moslem worship, was probably borrowed from Jews and Christians and practiced by Mohammed and his few disciples before he left Mecca. It is only after the Hejira (migration) to Medina, however, that we read of a special building set apart for worship and adapted to the ritual of Moslem prayer. The story as given in the traditions is as follows: When the prophet's camel was only three miles from Medina on his flight from Mecca she kneeled and refused to rise until prayer had been made. The

prophet decided, therefore, that the first mosque of Islam should be erected on this spot, and he accordingly marked out the direction for prayer with his iron-pointed javelin. Afterward he used to visit this place once a week on foot, and is reported to have said that a prayer in the mosque of Quba was equal to the pilgrimage to Mecca. Originally, a square building of very small size, it was afterward enlarged and in recent days was rebuilded by the Sultan Abdul Hamid. This is still one of the most sacred shrines in the Hejaz.

While the Mosque of Quba, also called the Mosque of Piety, was the earliest religious building of Islam, there are three much larger and more important mosques which are considered especially sacred. First in order is the great colonnade enclosure at Mecca which contains the Kaaba or cubic house with its famous Black Stone. The second in importance is the so-called Prophet's Mosque at Medina, built by Mohammed himself and repeatedly restored and beautified. Five earlier mosques were destroyed by rain-torrents, earthquake, or fire during the early centuries of Islam, and the sixth, as it now stands, was built by the nineteenth Sultan of the Mamluk dynasty in Egypt. The mosque at Jerusalem, built on the Rock of Solomon's Temple, is, according to Moslem tradition, the third place of special sanctity. By the Arabs it is called the Dome of the Rock, but it is more generally known as the Mosque of Omar. The rock on which it rests is said to have come from Paradise; from it Mohammed made his nocturnal ascent to heaven on the famous steed *Boraq*. Next to Mecca and Medina, this is considered the most sacred spot in the universe. The building, as it now stands, is of gradual growth and its

history goes back to A. D. 831. Many traditions are connected with this mosque and its future in Islam.

Mosques were built wherever Islam's warriors made new conquests and are found in every place where Islam has its followers. There is not a province of China nor a city of any size in India without its mosques. From Tangier to Teheran these places of worship abound everywhere. Mosques are found in nearly every part of Africa from Capetown to the great lakes and from Sierra Leone to Zanzibar. So small are these wayside shrines that many often pass them without observation.

There are mosques at Perth, Australia, on Wabash Avenue, Chicago, in Paris and in Berlin. Moslem magazines boast of that at Woking and another in Southfields, London, nearing completion. The latter, we are told, is to cost £10,000. An Indian writer gives the following account of it:

"His holiness, the Khalifat-ul-Masih, on his visit to England recently, laid the foundation-stone of this mosque in the garden of 63 Melrose Road, Southfields, Wandsworth. Among those present were the Japanese Ambassador, the German Charge d'Affaires, the Esthonian and Albanian Ministers, the Serbian Consul, and the Mayor of Wandsworth. The Turkish Government was represented, but Zekai Bey, the Turkish Minister, was prevented by illness from attending. It is intended to erect a building having all the usual characteristics and accompaniments of a Moslem mosque. At present, however, only the Mihrab, or praying place, is to be built."

What are these usual characteristics and distinguishing features of mosque worship? Among the essentials of a mosque is, first of all, a place for ablution before

the ritual prayer, since the necessary preliminary to every Moslem prayer is legal purification. Many manuals have been written on this subject, describing in great detail the occasions, the method, and the effect of ablution by water or, in its absence, by sand. The ritual differences in detail of purification are among the chief shibboleths of the various Moslem sects. In Mohammedan works of theology, there are also chapters on the proper use of the toothbrush, on the different kinds of water allowed for ablution, and on all the varieties of ritual defilement. These books are often the chief reading in the mosque libraries. One may see groups of men and boys everywhere receiving instruction in the mysteries of ablution, as I saw them in a small wattle mosque a few miles from Lake Nyassa. These lessons are taught, not only from a book of *fiqh,* but by example. The Sheikh goes through the formula accompanying each gesture by its appropriate word and the novice follows him.

A second essential is the arch or niche which is called *mihrab,* to indicate the direction of prayer, namely, a line straight to Mecca. Some of these *mihrabs* are exceedingly beautiful in their arabesque ornament and with their Koran inscriptions in gold. The illustrations we give are from mosques in Cairo. When, as is the case at Khartoum, the original *mihrab* has been placed at a wrong angle by the architect, worshippers draw up in a diagonal line, askew to the building plan, and so correct the architect's error during worship.

Then there is generally a *mimbar* or pulpit to the right of the prayer niche. Finally, there is an elevated structure, sometimes rising to the proportion of a tower or minaret, at one of the corners of the building to accommodate the crier or *muezzin* who calls the faith-

ful to prayer. It is usual that the walls of the mosque are built in accordance with the meridian of Mecca so that those who pray may automatically know the right direction. At first, Mohammed prayed toward Jerusalem, in this respect following the Jews, who turn their faces toward the Temple of Solomon. Sixteen months after he arrived in Medina, the *Qibla,* or direction of prayer, was changed by divine order as follows:

"Verily, We have seen thee turning about thy face toward the Heavens; wherefore We shall cause thee to turn toward a *Qiblah* that shall please thee. Turn now thy face toward the Holy Temple of Mecca. Wheresoever ye are, when ye pray, turn toward it."

After the revelation made in this verse, Jerusalem was abandoned and Mecca became the true centre for prayer and worship.

In addition to the essentials above mentioned, there is often a great open courtyard where on feast-days prayers are said. In the more pretentious mosques this courtyard is surrounded by a cloister or colonnade used from the earliest days for the recital of the Koran or for day-schools. At the present day in India, Egypt, and elsewhere, these colonnades are used as class-rooms for students.

When a Moslem enters his place of worship, he stops at the barrier of the gateway, which generally has a very high threshold, takes off his shoes or sandals, carries them in his left hand, sole to sole, and puts his right foot first as he passes into the sacred enclosure. All those who refuse to remove their footgear (such as infidel visitors) are provided with leather

or cloth slippers to cover their shoes. After performing the ablution, the believer commences his prayers individually or, in the public services at the stated hours, especially on Friday, by standing in rank with the other worshippers.

The chief officer of every mosque is called the *imam*, the leader of the prayer. The trustee or superintendent is called *mutawalli*. Many of the mosques are heavily endowed and are therefore kept in perfect repair. In every case the land on which a mosque has been built is a permanent place of worship and can never be used for secular purposes. This fact has often brought trouble when ignored by the thoughtless, and only recently the Indian Government had reason to regret an incident at Cawnpore where a mosque was said to be in danger of desecration because a new highway encroached upon the place used for ablution. Mohammed's injunctions regarding the sacred character of mosques are recorded in tradition as follows:

"When you enter a *masjid*, you must say, 'O Creator! open on us the doors of Thy Compassion;' and when you leave the *masjid*, say, 'O Lord! we supplicate Thy munificence.'

"It is a sin to spit in a *masjid*, and the removal of the sin is to cover it over. Whoever shall enter a *masjid*, let him enter it for a good object, namely, to learn something himself or to teach others. For he ranks as an equal with him who fights in the cause of God, who thus enters a *masjid*; but he who enters a *masjid* on any other account, is like unto a man who covets the property of another. Verily, a time will come when men will attend to worldly matters in a *masjid*. But sit ye not with such.

"Do not read poetry in a *masjid*, and do not buy and sell there, nor sit in a circle talking before prayers on a Friday.

"The prayers of a man in his own house are equal to the reward of one prayer, but prayers in a *masjid* near his home are equal to twenty-five prayers, and in a *jami'a* (or central mosque), they are equal to five hundred prayers, and in Jerusalem to fifty thousand, and in my *masjid* (at Medina), fifty thousand, and at the Ka'bah, one hundred thousand."

Such is the geometrical law of progress for the value of prayer in Islam.

Although the prophet did not forbid women to attend public prayer, it is considered better form for them to pray in private. In most of the important mosques of the great metropolitan centres, women are conspicuous by their absence from public worship. In some cases their needs are provided in latticed enclosures or in a dark corner away from public gaze. Ritual impurity is the reason given for these restrictions. Only in China, as far as I know, are there special mosques for women. We saw one in Honan province with an inscription to that effect in large characters over the doorway.

The *mimbar* or pulpit is as characteristic of Islam as of Christendom. Originally, it consisted of three wooden steps, and its structure was of wood or marble. Tradition tells us that Mohammed stood on the first step, Abu Bakr on the second and Omar on the last. Othman, however, fixed upon the middle step, and since then it has been the custom to preach from the middle step of the pulpit, even though it may be of considerable height. Among Shiah Mohammedans the pulpits generally have four steps. In Cairo, where Moslem architecture reached its highest point of perfection, the pulpits of many of the mosques are very

elaborate. Some of them are beautifully carved in marble; others are of wood and inlaid with precious stones or mother of pearl. In India, Africa, and Central Asia, the pulpits are all of a more primitive character. The place of the pulpit, as one can see from our illustrations, is always to the right of the *mihrab,* as seen by the worshipper.

The origin of the *mihrab* or niche in the centre of the wall of the mosque which marks the direction of Mecca is disputed. Originally a black stone of great size was placed against the north wall of the prophet's mosque, pointing out the direction of Jerusalem. This stone was removed to the south side when the *Qibla* was changed to Mecca. There is considerable evidence to show that the *mihrab* was an imitation of the altar-alcove in Oriental churches, and to this day it is considered improper for anyone to pray standing immediately within the enclosure of the niche.

In the early days of Islam the call to prayer was made in the open court, and there were no minarets. The earliest minaret of which we read was erected by Omar in A. H. 86. Among the Wahhabis of Arabia and other Puritan sects, the minaret is omitted in building the mosques, while the roof is used as the place to call the faithful to prayer. This call to prayer, heard from minarets five times daily in all Moslem lands, is as follows: the *muezzin* cries with a loud voice, and always in the Arabic language:

"God is most great! God is most great! God is most great! I testify that there is no god but God! I testify that there is no god but God! I testify that Mohammed is the Apostle of God! Come to prayer! Come to prayer! Come to prosperity! Come to prosperity! God is most great! God is most great! There is no god but God!"

In the call to early morning prayer, the words, "Prayer is better than sleep," are added twice, after the call to prosperity. Among the Shiahs in Persia and Northern India, they add the words, "Ali is God's favourite," immediately after the testimony to Mohammed.

While the architecture of mosques in most lands is Saracenic, this does not always signify that the building was constructed by the Arabs or by Moslem converts. Throughout the entire Near East many of the ancient churches were converted into mosques after the Arab invasion. This process continued down through the centuries. The most striking illustration of a church now used as a mosque is that of Santa Sophia at Constantinople, but there are hundreds of other examples in the Near East and in North Africa.

In India, as well as in Malaysia, there are a number of examples of Hindu temples turned into mosques. In Africa the modern buildings are Western in style. This is evident from the photographs shows in these pages of mosques in South Africa.

The mosque, as its very name imports, is chiefly a place "where prayer is wont to be made," but the recitation of the Koran is also conducted there during the Friday worship and on special occasions such as feast-days and the Month of Fasting. In order that the sacred volume may be read through rapidly, it is divided into thirty parts or portions and bound in as many separate little volumes, one of which is read each night during the month of Ramadan. On some occasions thirty men read each one portion, complete the task, and so obtain the merit of its perusal in a much shorter period. The caskets in which these books are kept are many of them exceedingly beautiful, covered

with mosaic, and encrusted with gold and silver ornaments. The Cairo museum has some wonderful specimens of these ancient Koran cases.

There are no idols in the mosque and, with the exception of the words in praise of Mohammed, no inscriptions that would offend a Christian. May we not hope that even as the synagogue became the church in the first century, so in the twentieth century we may yet see many mosques used for Christian worship?

VIII

MECCA THE MYSTERIOUS

OF ALL the provinces of Arabia, al Hejaz, which in 1916 revolted against Turkish rule and set up its own kingdom, with the Grand Sherif of Mecca as sovereign, undoubtedly has most frequent contact with the outside world, yet is the least known. Parts of it have never yet been explored.

Al Hejaz is so named because it forms "the barrier" between Tehama, the coast province on the south, and Nejd in the interior. Its great importance is due to the fact that it contains the two sacred cities, Mecca and Medina, which for more than thirteen centuries have been the centres of pilgrimage for the Moslem world.

Before the railway was completed from Damascus to Medina, the port of that city, Yenbo, was as flourishing as Jiddah is now, but at present it has almost the appearance of a deserted village. The whole pilgrim traffic has been diverted, and even the caravan route from the coast to Medina is at present unsafe.

The importance of Mecca is not due to its resident population of perhaps 50,000, but to the more than 100,000 pilgrims who visit it each year from every nation of Islam. Statistics are hopelessly contradictory and confusing regarding the number of annual visitors. According to Turkish official estimates, in 1907 there were no less than 280,000 pilgrims. It is a

marvel how so many thousands can find food, shelter, and most of all, water in such a desert city.

The religious capital of Islam, and now the temporal capital of the new Kingdom of Arabia, affords an index to the growth and strength of Mohammedanism in various parts of the world, for one can rightly gauge the strength of religious fervour in this great non-Christian faith by the number of those who go on pilgrimage.

From Java, Bengal, West Africa, Cape Colony, and Russia, as well as from the most inaccessible provinces of China, they come every year and return to their native land—if they escape the hardships of travel—to tell of the greatness and glory of their faith, however much they may have been disappointed in the actual condition of the city and its sacred buildings.

When we consider Mecca, Mohammed's words of prophecy in the second chapter of his book seem to have been literally fulfilled: "So we have made you the centre of the nations that you should bear witness to men!" The old pagan pantheon has become the religious sanctuary and the goal of universal pilgrimage for one-seventh of the human race. From Sierra Leone to Canton, and from Tobolsk to Cape Town, the faithful spread their prayer carpets, build their houses (in fulfilment of an important tradition, even their outhouses!), and bury their dead toward the meridian of Mecca. If the Moslem world could be viewed from an aeroplane, the observer would see concentric circles of living worshippers covering an ever-widening area, and one would also see vast areas of Moslem cemeteries with every grave dug toward the sacred city.

Mecca is no longer a veiled city, a score of intrepid travellers have unveiled it. From Bartema, Wilde, and Joseph Pitts to Burton, Burckhardt, Hurgronje, and Courtellemont, they took their lives in their hands, herded with strange companions, underwent untold hardships, and by luck or pluck came scatheless out of this lion's den of Islam. According to Doughty, scarcely a pilgrimage takes place without some persons being put to death as intruding Christians. An educated and pious Moslem in Cairo assured me only a few years ago that when he went on pilgrimage and took pictures of the city his life was endangered more than once by the fanaticism of the inhabitants. However, there are many who believe that the opening of the Hejaz Railway, especially as a branch, is to be carried to Jiddah, the breaking up of Turkish power in Arabia, and the establishment of the new kingdom will mean the removal of restrictions against non-Moslems. The taking of the city by Ibn Saood, however, has frustrated this hope for the present.

For thirteen centuries, Jiddah has been the most important harbour in the Moslem world from a religious standpoint. Its foundations were laid in the year 26 A. H. by the Caliph Othman, who chose it as the harbour of Mecca. But the town never reached commercial importance because of its natural disadvantages on the one hand, and the intermittent character of its only traffic—that in pilgrims—on the other. Ibn Jubair gives a picture of the town as it appeared in A. D. 1183, with its rude huts and stone buildings, its walls and its mosques. The town has shared in the fortunes and misfortunes of the Caliphate; it has often been besieged by the Bedouins and was attacked by the Portuguese in 1541 and besieged by the Wahhabis

in 1803 and again in 1925. In 1840, Egyptian rule began, but when the English and French consuls and other Christians were massacred on June 15, 1858, the place was bombarded on July 25 of the same year by the British. Since then the importance of Jiddah has steadily declined, except as a landing place for pilgrims and the gateway into Mecca.

My first visit to Jiddah was in January, 1891, when I went out to Arabia after learning some Arabic in Syria and Egypt. The Rev. Thomas Valpy French, first Bishop of Lahore and pioneer missionary to Arabia, was a fellow-passenger on the Khedivial steamer by which we sailed from Suez. The first port we touched at, after three days' journey, was Jiddah. It was my first glimpse of Arabia, and, seen from the harbour, the town presented a very picturesque view. The principal port of the Hedjaz—and the harbour of Mecca—it is only thirty-seven miles distant from Mecca—Jiddah is indeed an important centre. The harbour is within coral reefs, which also yield the building stone for the walls and dwellings of the city. The houses are high, generally four or five stories, and the carved lattice-work of rare and beautiful patterns, in dark woods, contrasts finely with the pure white coral rock. The whole city was at that time surrounded by a wall, pierced by several massive gates. The picturesque disappeared, however, on closer acquaintance. We landed at the Custom House, and without much difficulty obtained permission to visit the town. The streets were dark and narrow, and they were the sole receptacles for all the filth of the houses, which was thrown or carried out and buried or left uncovered in front of them.

From the general market-place, through the coffee

market, and past the elegant palaces of the Sherif, we went outside the walls to visit the celebrated tomb of Eve, the "grandmother of us all," after whom the town is named Jiddah, or grandmother. The Mohammedans say that when Adam and Eve were cast down from Paradise, Adam fell on the isle of Ceylon and Eve near Jiddah, and after a separation of many years, Adam was, on his repentance, conducted by the Angel Gabriel to a mountain near Mecca, where he found and knew his wife, the mountain being then named Arafat (recognition). The large enclosure with a building at each end and over the middle of her body now marks the resting-place of the mother of all living. According to the traditions, she was of giant proportions, and in proof of this, the Amazonian grave measures 110 paces in length. This tomb is sacred and has become a great resort for the sick, who tie shreds of their garments on the iron railings of the enclosure.

Jiddah, even at that time, was beginning to feel the throb of a new civilization. The shops boasted Sheffield razors, American sewing machines, Swiss watches, English textiles, and petroleum from the Alleghanies. There was much fanaticism, and no Christian was allowed to go outside the Mecca gate, except to visit the tomb of Eve, and even this was only possible under a Turkish guard. Bibles and books were confiscated at the custom houses, and no Christian could walk the streets without feeling that he was considered by all an unwelcome *kafir*. It is true that Bishop French, protected by his grey hairs and simple faith, went on shore by himself during our short stay there and read his Arabic Bible to eager listeners, but it was a bold step, taken against the advice of all those who knew the character of the people and the danger of fanati-

cism. He himself told the story as follows in a letter to Mrs. French:

"I put an Arabic Bible in each of my large pockets, and so ventured forth. I got two occasions to give short Arabic addresses within the city, one in a learned mullah's house, whom I induced to invite me in, and listen to the story of God's plan of salvation. The other opportunity was in a more open space, sitting on the door-step of an old blind man's house, whose friends gathered round to listen. The mullah wished to have the Bible, so I left it with him. I seldom leave the New Testament without the Psalms and Prophets, though our American brethren and most missionaries in India are content with the New Testament only, for its convenient size, partly, also from incorrect views (as I think) of the relation between the Old and New Testament, the Law and the Gospel. Three years ago General Haig entered the town with a bag of Bibles, which were all taken from him and never returned. This I avoided, filling my pockets only while my hands looked most innocently empty!"

The bishop imagined that he was able to pass undistinguished in the crowd:

"I wore a black fez (which is the mourning dress of the Turks) in my walk in Jiddah alone yesterday, and something like the white Tunisian burnous down to the feet, so that I really think they scarcely took me for a foreigner; but I remember well how the visit was afterwards talked about by the people on shore and by our fellow-passengers."

It was twenty-two years later that I again visited Jiddah, coming from Egypt with the late Mr. C. T. Hooper, the agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society. Twenty-two years of Turkish misrule and

Arab intrigue had been followed by the coup-d'etat of the Young Turks and the new constitutional régime. We went on a tour of investigation to discover possibilities of selling the Word of God where every other commodity, including Scotch whiskey, Austrian playing cards, and American cigarettes, found a ready market. On the day of Livingstone's centenary, March 19, 1913, we arrived at Yenbo, the port of Medina, and although we only had a few hours on shore, we met a Moslem inquirer who was deeply interested and had actually given himself a Christian name in his desire to fulfil the commandments of Christ as recorded in the Gospel. I shall never forget our mutual surprise to find hospitality in this inquirer's house nor the sense we had of God's real presence when we prayed together in the upper room.

The following day we left Yenbo, arriving at Jiddah on Good Friday. A special omen of hope and cheer greeted us as our ship dropped anchor. All the flags over the various consulates were at half-mast, and although some of the passengers thought it signified the death of a notable or some European ruler, the dragomans and other Arabs who crawled up the ship's sides to greet their pilgrim friends soon gave us the reason. They said: "It is the day on which Jesus died." It seems that one of the British consuls having put his flag at half-mast, the others followed his example. What a testimony to the historicity of the Crucifixion in Moslem Arabia among those who deny it! The Union Jack itself, whether at half-mast or at the top, always displays the glory of the Cross. Is it a mere coincidence that over 100,000,000 Moslems have the protection of that flag which recalls the story of Saint Andrew, of Saint Patrick and of Saint George,

who by martyrdom, by missions, or by chivalry showed their devotion to our Saviour?

Our errand was not as difficult as we had expected. The Young Turks were in power, customs restrictions were less severe, and there was an atmosphere of tolerance that I had not expected. We remained for five days and saw much of the little town. The British Consul was friendly, and others also showed us kindness. We met an earnest man who said, "It is hard to be a Christian at Jiddah." Indeed the loneliness and the downward pull of such an environment soon tell on character unless it be founded on the very Rock. On Easter Sunday, thanks to the kindness and hospitality of the British Consul, a simple service was held for Europeans to set forth the resurrection power of Christ —thirty-six miles from Mecca! When we left Jiddah, we had secured the rent of a small house; a colporteur with his stock of books dwelt there, and for some period, until the heat became too great, he pursued his work with encouragement and without serious opposition.

Our most interesting experience, perhaps, during this visit was in the matter of photographs. The prejudice in most Moslem lands against the camera and pictures has not yet died down; but in Jiddah it seemed photographs were on sale during the pilgrim season. Not only was I able to take some good photographs myself and to learn particulars in regard to the pilgrim traffic, but I also sent a telegram to Mecca to a leading Moslem photographer, whose establishment is not far from the Ka'aba itself, and received by registered post a number of beautiful photographs which I was glad afterwards to share with the readers of the *National Geographic Magazine*.

A third visit was quite unexpected. In October, 1917, when returning from a visit to China, the French mail steamer called at Jiddah to accommodate some Moslem notables from North Africa returning from pilgrimage. A glimpse was then given us of Jiddah, not under Abdul Hamid nor under the Young Turks, but under the government of the new king of Arabia. Events had moved rapidly since the declaration of independence in the Hejaz. It hardly seemed like the same town, and certainly not like the same backward government of the Turks. Instead of landing from the anchorage in the outer harbour by sailing ships through the surf, steam launches met us. Most of the passengers went on shore to see the sights as freely as they would at Aden or Port Said. The king of the Hedjaz has reformed many of the abuses of the Turkish régime. Pilgrims now pay, so I was assured, no more than thirty-six shillings a day for the first three days' lodgings in Jiddah, and afterwards eighteen shillings, compared with the eight to ten pounds sterling formerly! The charge for a camel for the journey from Jiddah to Mecca and Arafat and back was three to five pounds sterling compared with ten pounds in the old days. The luggage of pilgrims was well looked after, and everything done for their comfort. Water was given free to poor pilgrims and sold very cheaply to others.

The road between Jiddah and Mecca, formerly infested with brigands, was quite safe even for pedestrians. Bedouin police accompany the travellers from one police station in the road to another, and all pilgrims are free to stay in Mecca after the Haj, or to go anywhere they like, whereas formerly the government would keep the pilgrims at Mecca for at least a fort-

night after the Haj, so that they might spend all their money. Several primary schools had also been started in Jiddah. An agricultural and theological school would be opened, we were told, for the Arab Government had sent to Egypt and elsewhere for professors and teachers. The king had encouraged teachers of theology and expounders of the traditions of Mohammed in the sanctuary of Mecca. Three courses of religious instruction were already given daily on the lines given at Al Azhar University in Cairo. There was still plenty of room for improvement in sanitation, but the newly organized municipalities of Jiddah and Mecca are endeavouring to keep the towns clean. Incinerators have been established, and also a hospital.

The mixture of races in Hejaz province for so many centuries has not been conducive to morals or good government. No one who has read the account of social life at Mecca, as given by Hurgronje and other travellers, including Moslem pilgrims themselves, can doubt the need for social reform in this city. Mecca is the microcosm of Islam in its religious life and aspirations. According to Hurgronje, "It is Islam, the official religion, which brings together and amalgamates all the heterogenous constituents of Meccan life. On the other hand, this society itself welds into a chaotic whole the prejudices and superstitions of all countries." In other words, Mecca is the sink-hole of Islam. All witnesses agree as to the open immorality which once pervaded the streets, and even the mosque, of the sacred city, the prevalence of the slave trade, the fleecing of pilgrims, and the corruption of the late Turkish Government.

"The Turkish prison was an indication of the backward

state of prison reform in this part of the world. The prisoners were kept in wooden stocks in dark rooms and there was no sanitation whatsoever, with the temperature in the shade often 110 degrees Fahrenheit. No food was provided by the government, and unless a man's friends or kindly charity intervened he was apt to die of starvation. All the machinery of government moved clumsily at so great a distance from the Sublime Port."

Although there is a telegraph service between Mecca and Jiddah, the wires are often out of order, and most of the telegrams received during the pilgrim season fail to reach the addresses. The post-office at Mecca under Turkish régime was certainly unique. A recent writer tells us how "the sacks of letters are thrown out into the narrow street leading to the post-office and there sorted by the pilgrims themselves, who open them and take their letters and those of their friends also." A similar system prevailed at Medina, Yenbo, and Jiddah. All this was changed under King Hussein, who while in power took steps to join the International Postal Union and had stamps printed in Egypt bearing the inscription "Hejaz Post." The commerce of Mecca is entirely in the hands of foreigners, mostly Indians, who sell rosaries, carpets, and silk stuffs. One of the main occupations of the silversmiths is the manufacture of charm-rings, which are supposed to be constructed from silver that was once part of the sacred temple doors and which are reputed to be an effective remedy for certain ills. Most of the natives, however, earn their living as guides to the pilgrims and grow wealthy during the season. If each of the pilgrims spends $25, which is a low average, the aggregate income of the city would be $5,000,000; so one is not

surprised to see a number of stately houses at Mecca and the display of considerable wealth.

The conditions have changed in Mecca from decade to decade, and yet when one reads the story of those who first visited this holy city, and the experiences of their successors, the impression remains that Mecca was and is one of the dark places of the earth, socially and morally.

We quote from the diary of the earliest Christian pilgrim to Mecca, whose book is long out of print and rare even among collectors.[1]

"I beg leave to say plainly, I have the most valuable qualifications of an historian on my side, *i. e.*, Truth. I question whether there be a man now in England [A. D. 1738] who has ever been at Mecca; and if I were assured of it, yet I would never take encouragement from thence to tell the world anything but truth. Since I came home, I have seen many books, some have treated of the Mahometan religion, which are stuffed with very great mistakes. I speak not this to raise a value for what I have here written; for I protest, I am shamed, and in pain about publishing it, notwithstanding the encouragement friends have given me, because I am sensible I want ability to do a thing of this nature as I ought.

"I was sold three times. With my last patron I lived

[1] Joseph Pitts, *A Faithful Account of the Religion and Manners of the Mahometans.* In which is a particular Relation of Their Pilgrimage to Mecca, the Place of Mahomet's Birth; and a Description of Medina, and of His Tomb There: As likewise of Algiers, and the Country Adjacent; and of Alexandria, Grand Cairo, etc. With an Account of the Author's being taken Captive; the Turk's Cruelty to Him, and of His Escape. In which are many Things never published by any Historian before," 4th edition, London, 1738. Joseph Pitts was a sailor boy of Exeter who was taken prisoner by Algerian pirates in 1678, driven to the market-place and sold as a slave. After spending many years with various Mohammedan masters, he finally escaped and wrote this account of his experiences.

very comfortably. But this was not satisfaction; I longed still to be gone out of this country; and my chief reason was, that I might worship God as I ought. As for the Mahometan worship, I was persuaded, it could not be agreeable to His will; and I suppose everyone must agree with me herein, when they have read the account I give of it.

" Though a strict outward devotion be found among the Mahometans, yet almost all manner of wickedness and immorality (except murder and theft) are left unpunished. But as for those who are religious in their way, they'll not live in the neglect of performing their Salah, might they gain ever so much. As for drinking of wine, it is flatly forbidden, yet but few of them, in their youth, refrain from it, nay the excess of it. But, indeed, when they begin to grow old, they usually fall in love with money, which bars other extravagances.

" They say the renegadoes have a greater blessing than the natural Turks, for they commonly become great men and bear sway; and it is observed by them, that the children of those Turks which marry here in Egypt, seldom live to men's estate, but that the offspring of these renegadoes live as long as the natives do, and that they have a blessing on account of Joseph's being sold into Egypt.

" We came to Gidda, the nearest seaport town to Mecca. Here we are met by Dilleels, *i. e.*, certain persons who come from Mecca to instruct the Hagges, or Pilgrims, in the ceremonies (most of them being ignorant of them) which are to be used in their worship at the temple there.

" As soon as we come to the town of Mecca, the Dilleel, or guide carries us into the great street, to which the temple joins. After the camels are laid down, he first directs us to the fountains, there to take Abdes [*i. e.*, ceremonial washing], which, being done, he brings us to the temple, into which (having left our shoes) we enter at the door called bab-el-salem, *i. e.*, the welcome gate or the gate of peace. After a few paces entrance, the Dilleel makes a stand, and holds up his hands toward the Beat-Allah [the

Ka'aba] (it being in the middle of the mosque), the Hagges imitating him, and saying after him the same words which he speaks. At the first sight of the Beat-Allah, the Hagges melt into tears; then we are led round it seven times, and then make two Erkaets [the repeating of two prayers from the Koran]. Then we are sometimes to run, and sometimes to walk very quickly with the Dilleel, from one place of the street to the other, about a bow-shot. I could not chuse but admire [wonder] to see those poor creatures so extraordinarily devout and affectionate, when they were about these superstitions, and with that awe and trembling they were possessed; insomuch that I could scarce forbear shedding of tears to see their zeal, though blind and idolatrous. We then look out for lodgings, take off our Hirrawems [the pilgrim garb, put on before reaching Jiddah], and put on our ordinary clothes again.

" All the pilgrims hold it to be their great duty well to improve their time whilst they are at Mecca, not only to do their accustomed duty and devotion in the temple, but to spend all their leisure time there, and as far as strength will permit, to continue at Towoaf, *i. e.*, to walk round the Beat-Allah, which is about four and twenty paces square.

" At one corner of the Beat, there is a black stone fastened and framed in with silver plate, and every time they come to that corner, they kiss the stone, and having gone round seven times, they perform two Erkaets, or prayers. This stone, they say, was formerly white, and then it was called Haggar Effaed, *i. e.*, the white stone. But by reason of the sins of the multitudes of people who kiss it, it is become black, and is now called Haggar Esswaed, or the Black Stone.

" This place is so much frequented by people going round it, that the place Towoaf, *i. e.*, the circuit which they take in going round it, is seldom void of people at any time of the day or night. Many have waited several weeks, nay months, for the opportunity to find it so. For, they say, that if any person is blessed with such an opportunity, that

for his or her zeal in keeping up the Honour of Towoaf, let them petition what they will at the Beat-Allah, they shall be answered. Many will walk round until they are quite weary, then rest and at it again, carefuly remembering at the end of every seventh time to perform two Erkaets. This Beat is the object of their devotion, the idol which they adore: sometimes there are several hundreds at Towoaf at once, and these both men and women; but the women walk on the outside of the men, and the men nearest to the Beat. But when there are but few men at Towoaf, then the women get opportunity to kiss the said stone; and when they have gotten it, they close in with it, as they come round, and walk round as quick as they can to come to it again, and so keep possession of it for a considerable time."

So far the story of Joseph Pitts, of Exeter. Without sketching the troublous history of Mecca through all the centuries of Islam, we may note something of its general geography, and give a brief description of the sacred mosque and the ceremonies of the pilgrimage.

The earliest settlements at Mecca were undoubtedly due to the fact that the caravan trade from South Arabia northward found here a stopping place near the spring of Zem Zem long before the time of Mohammed, just as the early Roman settlements at Wiesbaden and other places in Germany were so located because of the medicinal waters. The sacred mosque, Masjid al Haram, with the Ka'aba as its centre, is located in the middle of the city. Mecca lies in a hot, sandy valley, absolutely without verdure and surrounded by rocky, barren hills, destitute of trees or even shrubs. The valley is about 300 feet wide and 4,000 feet long and slopes toward the south. The Ka'aba, or House of God (Beit Allah), is located in the bed of the valley.

All of the streets slope toward it, and it stands, as it were, in the pit of a theatre.

The houses in Mecca are built of dark stone and are elevated in order to accommodate as many pilgrims as possible. The streets are nearly all unpaved. In the summer they are full of dust, and in the rainy season—which, fortunately, is not frequent—they are black with mud. Strangely enough, although the city is poorly provided with water except for the famous spring of Zem Zem, Mecca has suffered more than once from destructive floods, which, tearing down the narrow valley, have destroyed buildings and damaged even the Ka'aba. A terrible inundation took place on the 23rd of Dhu'l Hajj, 1327 A. H. (A. D. 1909). The water reached nearly to the door of the Ka'aba and the whole court was inundated. The Ka'aba proper stands in an oblong space 250 paces long and 200 broad, surrounded by colonnades, which are used as schools and as general meeting places for pilgrims. The outer enclosure has nineteen gates and six minarets; within the enclosure is the well of Zem Zem, the great pulpit, the staircase used to enter the Ka'aba door, which is high above the ground, and two small mosques called al-Qubattain. The remainder of the space is occupied by pavements and gravel, where prayers are said by the four orthodox sects, each having its own allotted space.

In the southern corner of the Ka'aba about five feet from the ground, is the famous Black Stone, the oldest treasure of Mecca. The stone is a fragment resembling black volcanic rock, sprinkled with reddish crystals, and worn smooth by the touch of centuries. It was undoubtedly an aerolite and owes its reputation to its fall from the sky. Moslem historians do not deny

that it was an object of worship before Islam. In Moslem tradition it is connected with the history of the patriarchs, beginning as far back as Adam. The word Ka'aba signifies a cube, although the measurements, according to Ali Bey, one of the earliest writers who gives us a scientific account of the pilgrim ceremonies, do not justify its being called so. Its four sides are unequal, measuring 34 feet 4 inches, 37 feet 2 inches, 31 feet 7 inches, and 29 feet. The cloth covering is renewed every year. At present it is made of silk and cotton tissue woven at al Khurunfish, a factory in Cairo. The time of departure of the annual procession which takes it to Mecca is one of the great feast days in Cairo. Formerly, we are told, the whole of the Koran was interwoven into the Ka'aba covering. Now the inscription contains the words, "Verily, the first house founded for mankind to worship in is that at Mecca, a blessing and a direction to all believers." Seven other short chapters of the Koran are also woven into the tapestry, namely, the Chapters of the Cave, Maryam, Al Imran, Repentance, T. H., Y. S., and Mulk.

The inscription over Bab al Safa is also from the Koran and reads as follows: "Verily, al Safa and al Marwa are among the signs of God. Whoever then maketh a pilgrimage to the temple or visiteth it shall not be blamed if they go round about them both." This gate leads out to the hills beyond the city where certain pilgrim rites are performed. Over the Marwa gates there is (unless it was removed by the new king) a small tablet in honour of the Sultan of Turkey, who erected it.

The *Mahmal* is an annual present of tapestries, gold specie, or other gifts sent by various Moslem countries

to the Sherif of Mecca. The Ka'aba covering accompanies the Egyptian *Mahmal.*

Arriving within a short distance of Mecca, orthodox pilgrims, male and female, put off their ordinary clothing, and assume the *ihram,* which consists of two pieces of white cloth, one tied around the loins and the other thrown over the back. Sandals may be worn, but not shoes, and the head must be uncovered. After certain ablutions, the pilgrim enters the mosque, kisses the Black Stone, and runs around the Ka'aba seven times. After special prayers he proceeds to the place of Abraham, then drinks from the holy well, and once more kisses the Black Stone. After this follows the race between the hills, Safa and Marwa. Little books of ritual prayers to be used by the pilgrims are sold to everyone, and there is great punctiliousness in observing every detail correctly. On the seventh day of the pilgrimage there is a sermon from the grand pulpit. On the eighth day, the pilgrim goes to Mina, three miles distant from Mecca, and spends the night. The next morning he leaves for Arafat, another hill a short distance from Mecca, and the following day is the great day of sacrifice, simultaneously observed throughout the whole Moslem world.

Early in the morning of this day, the pilgrims go to Mina, where there are three pillars, called the Great Devil, the Middle Pillar, and the First One. Here each pilgrim flings seven pebbles to show his hatred of Satan and his love for God. He then performs the sacrifice of a sheep, goat, or camel, according to his means, the victim being placed toward the Ka'aba and the knife plunged into the animal's throat with the cry, "*Allahu akbar.*" This ceremony concludes the pilgrimage proper.

After visiting Mecca, most Moslems also go to Medina to visit the tomb of the prophet. At present, because of the railway, many of them pay this visit first. The pilgrimage to Medina is called *ziyarat* and that to Mecca *hajj*. The latter is obligatory, the former meritorious. The prophet's mosque at Medina is about 420 feet long by 340 broad. It is surrounded by a large courtyard and porticoes. The Hujrah, or place of the tomb, has four gates, which are carefully locked and guarded by eunuchs. Within the enclosure there are four graves and place for a fifth. Next to Mohammed himself lies Abu Bekr, his father-in-law, next to him Omar, founder of the imperial power of Islam, and a short distance away is the grave of the prophet's beloved daughter, Fatima. Between Fatima's grave and that of Omar is a space left empty. According to Moslem tradition, it was the wish of Mohammed that this place should be reserved for Jesus on His second coming and death.

Between Medina and Mecca are some of the famous battlegrounds of early Islamic days. On one of these the battle of Ohod was fought, when the Qoraish of Mecca, after their defeat at Bedr, overcame the Moslem army. In this battle, Mohammed himself was seriously wounded. Hamza, a valiant warrior of Islam, lies buried here. On the occasion of the anniversary of the proclamation of the constitution at Mecca, all the worthies took part in the ceremonies. Over the doorway of the building where the celebration took place lanterns were hung to illuminate the Arabic inscription: " In liberty is the peace of the people and in fraternity is the bond of union."

The new Turkish Government, however, was unsuccessful in introducing liberty or reform in the province

of Hejaz. Their task, even had they made a conscientious effort, would have been specially difficult here because of the mutual hatred between Turks and Arabs, the restless character of the Bedouin population, and the utter collapse of all respect for authority after the Turkish defeat in the Balkan Wars. The Arabs at last insisted upon ruling their sacred cities themselves and, assisted by the British, for a time placed the Grand Sherif of Mecca, Hussein Ibn Ali, on the temporal throne of a new kingdom. They also attempted to make it the spiritual throne for the whole Moslem world by bidding for the Caliphate when Turkey had cast out the Caliph.

When we think of all these changes—of the expulsion of the Turks, the establishment of a new Arab government, its downfall, and the recent conquest of the Hejaz by Ibn Saood—the future of West Arabia seems far from settled. The door to Mecca may be more closely barred than ever to strangers, and yet, on the other hand, Burton's prophecy, written in 1855, may be accomplished at last:

"The Eastern world moves slowly—*eppur si muove*. Half a generation ago steamers were first started to Jiddah; now we hear of a projected railway from that port to Mecca, the shareholders being all Moslems. And the example of Jerusalem encourages us to hope that long before the end of the century a visit to Mecca will not be more difficult than a trip to Hebron."

IX

ISLAM AND CHRISTIANITY IN AFRICA TO-DAY

A FEW months ago I received a letter from the office of the Ahmadiya Movement, Salt Pond, on the Gold Coast, expressing regret that they could not send me vernacular Islamic literature, but stating that all sorts of English magazines were available, and assuring me that " Islam is a living faith . . . join its fold to partake of the eternal blessings." Another letter, written in excellent Arabic, came from the *imam* of a mosque near Cape Town, offering objections to certain statements in tracts published by the Nile Mission Press, Cairo, and telling of an ovation given at Cape Town to Lord Headley on his recent visit as representative of Western Islam.

Such letters almost lead one to agree with Captain P. W. André, in his recent book, *L'Islam Noir,* that the modern propaganda of Islam is more active and penetrating than the old dervish orders were. Yet missionary statesmen and government officials have long held that Islam is not the best religion for the negro-races. Two witnesses will suffice. The German publicist, Carl Mirbt, wrote some years ago in a paper on *Mission und Kolonialpolitik:* " When we observe what Islam effects as well as what it fails to effect, we light everywhere upon unproductiveness, conservatism, intellectual indolence, gross sensuality; in other words, it is the enemy of colonization and of culture, and im-

pedes the moral, intellectual and economic progress of the negro."

And on July 3rd, 1925, the *Rand Daily Mail* (Johannesburg), in discussing the progress of Islam south of the Zambesi, said: "What religion? This is the question which the white population must decide so far as the Union is concerned. The point for them is simply whether Christianity or Mohammedanism shall form the basis of civilization in this country. They will not hesitate, we believe, to declare their choice. It will be for Christianity, and the benefits which will follow for the black races. And having chosen, they cannot leave the missionaries to fight their battle without help. It is a national and not merely sectarian work which the missionaries are doing, and for that reason they must have public support."

Islam is everywhere a world-problem, but in Africa it is acute, although there is general ignorance regarding both its extent and character. There have been wild guesses and exaggerated statistics regarding the number of those who profess Islam in Africa. It is still difficult to avoid error, as there are no definite figures for vast districts. The independent survey made by Mr. W. J. W. Roome on a tribal basis, however, and the figures given by Professor Louis Massignon in the *Annuaire du Monde Musulman* (Paris, 1925) agree so closely that we may conservatively put the total Moslem population of all Africa at nearly forty-nine million—approximately one-third of the population of the continent. The following table, based on L. Massignon's book, was specially prepared for the International Conference on the Christian Mission in Africa (Le Zoute, Belgium, September 14-21, 1926):

Country	*Total Population*	*Moslem Population*	*Per Cent. Moslem*
Algeria	5,802,464	4,971,424	82%
Tunisia	2,095,000	1,891,000	93%
Morocco	5,400,000	5,215,000	97%
Rio de Oro	50,000	50,000	100%
Egypt	12,750,918	11,658,148	91%
Anglo-Egypt Sudan	5,852,000	2,800,000	42%
Tripoli	569,093	553,081	91%
Barqa	225,000	224,000	99%
Senussi Emirat	20,000	20,000	100%
Mauritania	261,000	254,000	99%
Senegal	1,225,000	915,000	75%
Sudan (French)	2,475,000	930,000	35%
Guinea (French)	1,876,000	1,045,000	66%
Ivory Coast	1,546,000	100,000	10%
Dahomey	842,000	70,000	8%
Haute Volta	2,973,000	444,000	15%
Niger (French)	1,084,000	881,000	81%
Liberia	1,700,000	200,000	11%
Gold Coast	1,500,000	75,000	5%
Togo	1,032,000	30,000	3%
Nigeria (North)	9,000,000	5,855,000	64%
Nigeria (South)	7,858,689	1,940,000	25%
Camerun	2,100,000	500,000	25%
Oubangui-Chari	606,644	25,000	5%
Chad	1,271,000	920,000	72%
Belgian Congo (only two small Islamic centres, Yakusu and Wayika, estimated at)		200,000	
Nyasaland	1,218,238	73,000	8%
Union of South Africa	5,973,394	45,842	1%
Mozambique	3,120,000	60,000	2%
Madagascar	3,545,575	669,200	18%
Réunion Island	173,000	3,000	2%
Mauritius Island	377,000	40,000	11%
Zanzibar	199,462	199,000	100%

Country	*Total Population*	*Moslem Population*	*Per Cent. Moslem*
Tanganyika	4,000,000	400,000	10%
Uganda	3,318,271	600,000	20%
Kenya	2,500,000	250,000	10%
Italian Somaliland	350,000	350,000	100%
British Somaliland	300,000	300,000	100%
French Somaliland	210,000	210,000	100%
Eritrea	406,000	225,000	52%
Abyssinia	8,000,000	3,000,000	37%
		48,191,695	

One is startled to learn that in twelve African countries over ninety per cent. of the people are Mohammedan, namely in Morocco, Tunisia, Rio de Oro, Egypt, Tripoli, Barqa, Mauritania, Zanzibar, and British, French and Italian Somaliland. In seven other countries over fifty per cent. of the people belong to Islam; namely, in Algeria, Senegal, Guinea, Niger, Northern Nigeria, Chad-district and Eritrea. Four other lands have a Moslem population of over thirty-three per cent, namely, the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, the French Sudan, Kenya, and Abyssinia.

When we compare this with the following statistical table of Christian population, the factors in the problem stand out clearly. The Coptic, Abyssinian, and Roman Catholic figures in this table are estimates; those for Protestant Missions are given in round numbers and are taken from the *World Missionary Atlas*, 1925:

Egypt	41,000
Sudan	250
Algeria	300

Gambia	2,000
Sierra Leone	38,000
Liberia	20,000
Gold Coast	150,000
Nigeria	270,000
Camerouns	135,000
French and Belgian Congo	120,000
Rio and Angola	40,000
S. W. Africa	63,000
South Africa	950,000
British Protectorate	23,000
Rhodesia	50,000
Port. E. Africa	31,000
Nyasaland	108,000
Tanganyika	42,000
Kenya	48,000
Uganda	146,000
Italian E. Africa	3,000
Madagascar	370,000
Total	2,650,550
European Christians in South Africa (Government Handbook, 1925)	1,415,000
European Christians in other parts (estimated).	300,000
Roman Catholic converts and catechumens for all Africa (Aren's Handbuch, p. 177)	2,510,317
Coptic Church of Egypt (Census)	876,669
Abyssinian Church (Estimated from Statesman's Year Book and Report of Swedish Missions).	3,000,000
Total	10,752,536

Three faiths, therefore,—paganism, Christianity and Islam—meet in Africa to-day. A saying, supposedly uttered by Mohammed the Prophet on his death-bed, was prophetic of the age-long struggle between Islam

and Christianity: "Two religions may not dwell together on the Arabian peninsula" (*Muwatta,* IV, 71). Even a few years before the Hegira, one of the earliest converts to Islam from Arabian animistic paganism and one of the little band who fled to Abyssinia embraced Christianity there, and then invited Mohammed himself to come into the full light: "You are still blinking, but we now see clearly" (Ibn Hisham). We may infer from the context that Obeidallah Ibn Jahsh was not the only man in whose heart three faiths met and struggled for supremacy.

The spread of Islam in Africa began early and was characterized by three distinct periods of conflict. In the first (A. D. 638-1050) the Arabs rapidly overran the whole Mediterranean littoral from Egypt to Morocco, where the stubborn resistance of the Berbers, and especially discord among the Moslem rulers, prevented wider conquest until the tenth century. During the second long period (1050-1750) Morocco, the Sahara region and the Western Sudan became Moslem. The third period (1750-1900) was that of the revival of Islam through the Wahhabis and its spread by the Mahdi movements and the derwish orders.

To-day Africa is the place where the three faiths inevitably must meet. Islam and Christianity are engaged in an acute struggle for the remaining pagan tribes. The Moslem advance in Africa in the past two decades has been extensive, constant and rapid. Some believe that unless there is a more speedy evangelization of the pagan tribes large parts of the continent will enter the fold of Islam.

Christianity has its great communities in the south, in Uganda, around the Lakes, in Southern Nigeria, on the Gold Coast, in Madagascar, in Abyssinia and in

the Nile Valley, but we cannot speak of any chain of mission stations across the continent. The lappings of the rising tide of Islam were experienced in Nyasaland only a decade ago; now south of the Lakes and the Zambesi there are already 283,000 Mohammedans. In Dahomey, on the West Coast, there are no less than one hundred and fifty-four Koran schools, and Islam is rapidly winning its way and strengthening its grip. In Abyssinia the Gallas and some other tribes have become Moslem and the inferior strata of the population more and more adopt the cult of the prophet. Concerning the province of Jimma Abagifar in Southern Abyssinia, Dr. T. A. Lambie wrote this year: "I saw something there that I never heard of, namely, the Mohammedans sending out actual mission colonies to the heathen Gallas. We saw several of these colonies." From Zanzibar the missionaries report a revival of active propaganda, enforced by many newcomers from Cairo who are trying to rouse the somewhat lethargic Mohammedans of Zanzibar into greater activity. In Liberia the Government reports that the Mohammedan negroes are steadily penetrating into the hinterland. They cut down the forests and take possession little by little, driving the forest dwellers toward the interior.

Captain André gives statistical tables regarding Islam in West Africa which are not altogether reassuring, nor do they corroborate the opinion sometimes expressed that the advance of Islam is no longer threatening. In Senegal he says there are 833,542 Moslems and 321,467 still pagan; in French Guinea 655,680 Moslems, 727,864 animists and 315,760 "*en voie d'Islamization;*" on the Ivory Coast 100,000 Moslems; in Dahomey 61,974; in the Niger Colony nearly

half the population—518,109—are already Mohammedan. André speaks of the present-day influence of the Sennusia in West Africa with Lagos as their chief centre. He sees a danger in this new movement led by Indian Moslems:

"It would be puerile to deny that the ancient Moslem religious brotherhoods, which laboured in Islam and for Islam, and more often counselled believers to withdraw from before conquering Europe rather than to engage in open conflict, are now giving place little by little to sects whose mysticism finds points of contact with the greatest political problems of the hour."[1]

Mr. W. J. W. Roome's ethnographic map, although professedly imperfect, includes the whole continent, and deserves the careful attention of all interested in the evangelization of Africa. It shows clearly the present lines of communication through a continent which is rapidly becoming covered with a network of railways and motor car routes, the latter especially due to French colonial enterprise from the north. These new highways of trade and commerce should become highways for the Gospel. The end of the engineers' task is often an opportunity for beginning the missionary enterprise on a larger scale. The capital of Abyssinia is now a railway terminus; a French motor company has opened a way across the Sahara to Timbuctu; in the tourist bureau may be found the time-tables of connections and fares for the Cape-to-Cairo route. Mr. Roome distinguishes on the new map by a special scheme of colour regions that are wholly Mo-

[1] *L'Islam Noir: Contribution à l'Etude des Confrèries religieuses Islamiques en Afrique occidentale, suivie d'une étude sur l'Islam au Dahomey,* Paris, Geuthner, 1925.

hammedan as, for example, Northern Nigeria, and districts where Islam is making its conquests as, for example, the territory of the Ivory Coast and the Gold Coast. The immense spread of Islam is evident. There is one thing, however, which the map does not indicate, and the omission is of grave importance. We refer to the extent and distribution of the derwish orders. We owe to the French scholars, Depont, Coppolani, Doutté, Delafosse, Le Chatelier, and more recently to P. J. André, a full account of these Moslem brotherhoods of North and Northwest Africa. If one could superimpose the map prepared by Depont and Coppolani, corrected up to date, on this ethnographic map of Mr. Roome we should have a startling picture not only of the distribution but of the dynamics of Mohammedanism in Africa. Far more important than statistical estimates are these dynamics—the vital forces of Islam, the life-giving power of Christianity—in their twofold contact with each other and with dying animism.

But let us turn from statistics to the actual process of Islamization now in progress all over Africa. What does the Islamization of a tribe or people or of an individual involve? What does Islam bring to the animist? Nowhere else in the world can we truly say that Islam is "on trek" so much as in the African continent. West and East are closely linked together. Many thousands of Nigerians and Gold Coast Moslem natives trek across the great desert areas of the Sahara to the Eastern French and the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. When the great dam was constructed at Makwar, soutb of Khartum in the Gezireh cotton fields of the Sudan Plantations Company—in which South African capital had taken a predominant part—Nigerian workers were

seen in hundreds. Why do the Moslem tribesmen of Nigeria and the West come to the Upper Nile Valley? Because they are on their pilgrimage to Mecca—from Khartum they go via Port Sudan, to Jiddah, the port of Mecca, in twenty-four hours.

The presence in Africa of over 388,000 Asiatics, many of whom are Moslems, does much to make the spread of Islam easier. The Rev. Ernest W. Riggs wrote after a visit he made to East Africa: "Mohammedanism is permeating Natal and Portuguese East Africa by slow methods of infiltration. Indian traders, largely Moslem, have opened small stores all along the coast region. These Indian traders, inured to the sub-tropical climate, quickly establish themselves where no Europeans find it possible to live. Frequently coming as young unmarried men, they marry one or more natives and, together with the children which come rapidly, quite a Moslem community results."

In March, 1926, I visited the Sudan—saw Omdurman, Khartum, studied the educational program of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan—wholly Islamic—and saw Arabic classes at a Zawia of the Qadariya dervishes at Um Dubban. Only one conclusion was possible: *Islam has a carefully prepared educational program for all Africa that has never been investigated by a Phelps-Stokes Commission.*

In Cairo tourists seldom wander to what we call "Paternoster Row," the booksellers' quarters. Here, near the Azhar University, piled high, you may see huge parcels of Arabic books addressed to Kordofan, Timbuctu, Cape Town, Zanzibar, Sierra Leone, Mombasa, Madagascar. *Islam pours out literature and extends the area of Arabic-literates every year!* Arabic

is undoubtedly the most important literary language of all Africa.

In Senegal Islam at first spread through the favouritism of the French Government. Now, the Arabic language is taught in the schools and is used for correspondence. There are 1800 elementary schools, one high school at St. Louis, with a total of 12,000 pupils. In the French Sudan the Arabic language is principally used. There are 2,107 Koran schools with a total number of 7,500 pupils. In French Guinea Arabic is gaining ground, according to Marty. The dervish orders are spreading. On the Ivory Coast, although only eleven per cent. of the population is Moslem, there are already 300 mosques and 455 Koran schools. In British Nigeria the Arabic language is taught in all Mohammedan schools, and the Arabic character has been adopted for Hausa and Peul. Special teachers of Arabic have come to Bornu from Khartum. The beginnings of an Islamic university have existed at Nassarawa since 1909, namely, an elementary school for the sons of chiefs: an industrial school and one for manual training.

In the Lake Tchad district the Arabic language is spreading and much literature is imported from Cairo. The Mohammedans in Madagascar are in a minority of eighteen per cent., but they are found in the Comores Islands, which are practically all Mohammedan, in Northwest Madagascar to the number of 209,000, and a group in the extreme southeast, immigrants from Mecca originally, and now numbering over 200,000. On the island of Mauritius there are forty-two mosques and the educated Moslems publish a French newspaper, *L'Islamisme*. In Somaliland, British, French and Italian, all practically unoccupied mission fields,

Islam is thoroughly organized through the dervish orders, including the Sennusi. The recent Mahdi revolt showed what latent power slumbers here.

In July, 1925, we visited one of the mosques at Beira, Portuguese East Africa. A Yeman Arab who had received instruction in Cairo was teaching negro lads the Koran. On his table there were Indian, Turkish and Egyptian papers. In the little mosque there was a money-chest to collect for " the holy war of the Riffs " against the French in Morocco, and it was labelled: " To be sent through the Caliphate Committee, Bombay! " *Islam is a world brotherhood. It is always and everywhere cosmopolitan.*

This cosmopolitan character of the Islamic brotherhood in Africa is emphasized by the use of the same character in writing and the same speech in prayer and public worship. The slates in the hands of children at Fez, Timbuctu, Mponda, Zanzibar, Lagos, and Cape Town, have the same copy and the same script: *" Bismillahi-ar-rahman-ar-rahim."*

While at Zomba in Nyasaland, in 1925, I walked some miles through the jungle to a Moslem village where I was expected to make an address through a Christian interpreter who spoke Yao. On arrival, the courtyard before the mosque was crowded. I received a warm welcome, but never used my Christian interpreter. The Imam and his son had been to Mecca, spoke perfect Arabic, and interpreted for me into Yao. *Islamic civilization always includes the Arabic speech and letters which are spreading to-day in Africa.* In Cape Town the Arabic character is used to print a Dutch commentary on the Koran. In Madagascar and on the Gold Coast, Moslems are proud to write their names and titles in the script that became

sacred once for all through the Koran. That book, with all its defects and degrading tendencies, yet serves to introduce the African to Allah,—Allah, with His ninety-nine beautiful names and attributes. That the theism of Islam is lofty and can stand side by side with the philosophy and speculations of Judaism and Christianity on the nature of God is evident to any student of Ghazali or Jalal-ud-Din. On the other hand, there is the fact that Islam raises almost insurmountable barriers against all the vital and distinctive teaching of the Gospel, *i. e.*, the Fathorhood of God, the incarnation, the atonement, and the finality—and sufficiency—of Jesus Christ as prophet, priest, and king. At the same time, religious sanction is given to low standards of ethics, especially as regards sex. And, also, there is a strange tolerance of animistic superstitions. Of Equatorial Africa we may truly say what Simon says of Sumatra:

> " Among the Animist peoples, Islam is more and more entangled in the meshes of Animism. The conquerer is, in reality, the conquered. Islam sees the most precious article of its creed, the belief in God, and the most important of its religious acts, the profession of belief, dragged in the mire of Animistic thought; only in Animistic guise do they gain currency among the common people. Instead of Islam raising the people, it is itself degraded. Islam, far from delivering heathendom from the toils of Animism, is itself deeply involved in them."

Christianity, on the contrary, invites to the narrow road: its ethics are contrary to the flesh, its ideals of worship forbid fetichism and magic.

Another distinguishing feature of Islam in Africa is that it has no " colour-bar " or colour prejudice, and

offers the African entrance into an *exclusive, cosmopolitan brotherhood* with its passwords. Religious pride is the strength of Islam in Africa, while racial pride is the peculiar weakness of Christianity in Africa. On these two statements, one could hang all the chapters of recent religious history in the Dark Continent.

What are the elements of strength and weakness in Islam, what are its advantages and disadvantages as compared with Christian missions in Africa to-day?

First of all we must make the distinction, often lost sight of, that Islam in Africa spreads more rapidly than Christianity, but Christianity penetrates more deeply. Islam is itself so animistic that it has failed to uproot pagan practices or to remove the terror of spirits and demon worship. By its pilgrimage rites, its doctrine of Jinn, of magic, of amulets and charms, it does indeed find easier access to the mind of the Negro, and it demands no great change in his beliefs or practices. Islam and Animism live in very neighbourly fashion on the same street and in the same soul. No definite line marks the border between Moslem and pagan tribes on the map of Africa or in the mind of the African. The barbaric practices of the *Zar*, for example, are common in all Egypt and the Mediterranean border.

In his recent study of the northern tribes of Nigeria, Mr. C. K. Meek confirms the judgment of M. Monteil in West Africa that when Islam penetrates a pagan tribe the result is an amalgam—a paganized Islam.

" Even to-day many of the less enlightened Moslem rulers keep at their court pagan priests to direct and guide them as occasion requires. . . . Their religious outlook is little wider than that of the pagans they despise. The Koran is

their fetish no less than the village idol, stone or tree. . . . They are still believers in sorcery and magic, and ward off all manner of evil influences by surrounding their necks, arms and wāists with Koranic amulets and talismans. Hundreds of mendicant *malams* earn an easy livelihood by selling these magic wares. . . . There are also Moslem communities where the Ramadan festival is begun and ended with pagan rites. . . . Thus, on the spiritual side, Islam in Nigeria is but a poor imitation of the lofty religion of the prophet." [2]

The Mohammedan missionary has apparent advantages over the messenger of the Cross. He is in most cases a native of Africa and understands the language and habits of its peoples. The ethnical gulf is not wide. A government official in Nigeria points out how the social ideals of Islam help in winning native races to the acceptance of this new faith.

" Polygamy has always been a rock, the wrecking rock, in the path of Christianity's advance amongst the native races in Africa. The pagans are polygamous, the Mohammedans are polygamous, everybody accepts polygamy, endorses polygamy, practices polygamy—everybody, that is, except the Christians." [3]

In the treatment of polygamous converts who contracted plural marriages before their conversion, mission theory and practice are not unanimous. The essential difference, however, between Islam and Christianity remains in the ideal of the home. It is more important that African Christianity should be pure than that all Africa should profess Christianity.

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[2] C. K. Meek, *The Northern Tribes of Nigeria* (2 vols.), 1925.
[3] J. F. J. Fitzpatrick, " Christian Missions in Nigeria," in *The Nineteenth Century and After,* October, 1925.

Another factor in the spread of Islam is the favour of colonial governments. This was far greater in the past than it is since the World War, but the scales do not yet hang even.

Now, with all these advantages and a long period of twelve centuries of Islam in Africa, the victory of the Arabian prophet is not complete. It is not the total number of Mohammedans in Africa that astonishes, but the stubborn fact that so many millions of Christians and Animists have steadily refused to become Moslems. The Copts, the Berbers, the Abyssinians are historic examples. In a recent remarkable study of Islam and Animism in French West Africa, M. J. Brévié piles up the evidence that the tide is turning. He writes:

"Everywhere the country youth seem to be leaving Islam. Even when their fathers practised regularly their religious duties, they are now sweeping them away without scruple; they drink, hunt and eat wild pig. Their fervour only awakes later in life in order to obtain the prayers of the marabouts after their death. When the local authority loses his energy and his power of exacting obedience the people become disinterested in their duty, desert the mosques, drink fermented liquors and return without feeling to Animism."[1]

Other examples of retrogression from Islam are given and then he goes on to say:

"Such incidents prove that the pagans have in this case not become Moslems at all, but have followed a marabout who appeared in their land, and who seemed to have supernatural powers. Our intervention has put a stop to this unstable harmony. The effect will come of itself on the day

[1] *Islamisme contre 'Naturisme' au Soudan francais*, pp. 172-3.

1656

when fate turns against the marabout and the pagans conquer. This quasi-Moslem state of affairs cannot remain the same unless the Mohammedans can enter altogether into the life of the pagans, win their confidence and lead them in dangerous movements. There is in this fact a most useful indication as much from the point of view of religious equilibrium as in regard to the political security of our great Nigerian colony."[5]

We cannot refrain from quoting one more telling passage on the struggle between three faiths:

"An old chief from Guinea who has lived long enough to see Mohammedanism and even Christianity substituted for paganism said to us:

"'About a dozen years ago we abandoned our gods because the missionaries told us that they were worth nothing and made fun of them and made us ashamed and no one any longer dared to pray to them. Then the marabouts of Touba came and, as we no longer believed in our gods, they did not have much trouble to find us ready converts. As for myself, I would have become a Roman Catholic if I had not been so old, if that had not been so difficult, if the mission had not been so far away. To be a Catholic it is necessary to learn the catechism. It is less complicated to salaam; anyone can learn to bow.'"[6]

Another aspect of the question that often escapes notice is that Islam withstands Western culture. The only national element Islam brings with it everywhere is the Arabic language and the Book of Allah as its chief treasure; but this remains foreign to all African peoples except in the Barbary States, Egypt, and the Northern Sudan. There are fragments of the Koran

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 187.
[6] *Islamisme contre 'Naturisme' au Soudan francais*, p. 297.

translated into Swahili, Hausa, Yao and Afrikaans, but these translations are negligible when we remember that at present the Scriptures in whole or part have been issued in 238 African languages. Protestant and Roman Catholic missionaries have created the beginnings of a simple but pure literature in more than a hundred languages. This is the best way to counteract the pseudo-culture propagated by Islam.

Islamic advance does not produce new industries or develop agriculture. Nor has Islam made any remarkable contribution to art, architecture, music or science in Africa.[1]

There are certain respects indeed in which Islam is a far better creed than Animism. Those who embrace its teaching make one great bound forward and upward from idolatry and its dark degradation into the light of theism: "There is no god but God." Islam has suppressed cannibalism and human sacrifice; it has removed some of the coarser features of priestcraft and witchcraft. It has professed to enforce abstinence from strong drink and has generally succeeded. It has taught the sinfulness of gambling. It has inculcated the three positive duties of formal prayer, fasting, and almsgiving. But on the negative side it produces a religious pride and arrogance that is characteristic of this faith everywhere. It has tolerated and encouraged human slavery and by its theory and practice degraded womanhood.

Christianity, on the contrary, is everywhere in Africa not a disintegrating but a consolidating force. It made a nation of the Baganda when they were rent by faction. It enabled Khama to rescue his own people and

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[1] Martin Hartmann, *Islam and Culture in Africa.*

lifted the Bamangwato to a place of influence among the Bechuana tribes. One has only to compare the Christian tribes of Madagascar with those that are Moslem in the northwestern part of the island to realize the impotence of Islam in this regard.

If the Christian Church in Africa could be aroused to its present opportunity, be healed of its needless divisions, present a united front and proclaim a living Saviour she would carry victory everywhere. Already ninety per cent. of the educational program for Africa south of the Sudan is in missionary hands. Every school produces readers; and they are all taught to read in their own tongue the Book which is as a hammer and as a fire to break down superstition and kindle the flame of a new and purer life. Missionaries in Africa, not Moslem derwishes, are laying the foundations of literary education for the Negro races. In the schools of the Protestant missions in Africa there are nearly a million pupils.[8]

How can we develop a strong Christian Church on the border-marches of Islam? Such a Church, indigenous to the soil, independent in its soul and awake to the call for immediate evangelism, would be irresistible. The Christian Church of Africa has gifts of a peculiar value and qualities adapted to this great task. What it needs is leadership. Among the special endowments of the Negro race are a lively sense of God's personality and the objective character of His manifestations; strong emotional experience; musical talent and expression of religion in song; social capacity and sympathy; and appreciation of authority. It would not be difficult to show that all these qualities

[8] Total obtained from statistics in *The World Missionary Atlas*, pp. 132 ff.

are eminently useful in the task of Moslem evangelization. The native Church needs in addition knowledge of Islam, its strength and its weakness, its past history and present organization. Ignorance of the true character of Islam is to-day the cause of two evils: timidity in carrying the Gospel to those who seem to have risen so far above Animistic idolatry; and apostasy to Islam, as the open door for Christian backsliders. Special literature and special training are as necessary for the missionary to Moslems in Central Africa as in India or Egypt.

X

THE ANGLO-EGYPTIAN SUDAN

IN THE vast Sudan to-day there is being enacted before all eyes the spectacle of a new nation in the making. Hitherto the many tribes and peoples of the territory south of Wady Halfa and north of the Uganda frontier have neither politically nor ethnologically had much in common. But for a little over two decades all this new territory has been gradually welded into the British commonwealth of nations. The picked body of very able men who are devoting time and energy to the material and moral development of the Sudan deserve all honour. Their task is not easy, for the Sudan is a place where three religions —Islam, Christianity, and Paganism—meet; and three races—the Egypto-Arabian, the Sudanese, and the British—have to live in harmony.

Addressing a meeting of Arab notables in Omdurman at a tea-party in the American Mission garden in 1926, I quoted Al Mutannabi's well-known lines:

> *"I am known to the night and the wind and the steed,*
> *To the sword and the guest, to the paper and reed,"*

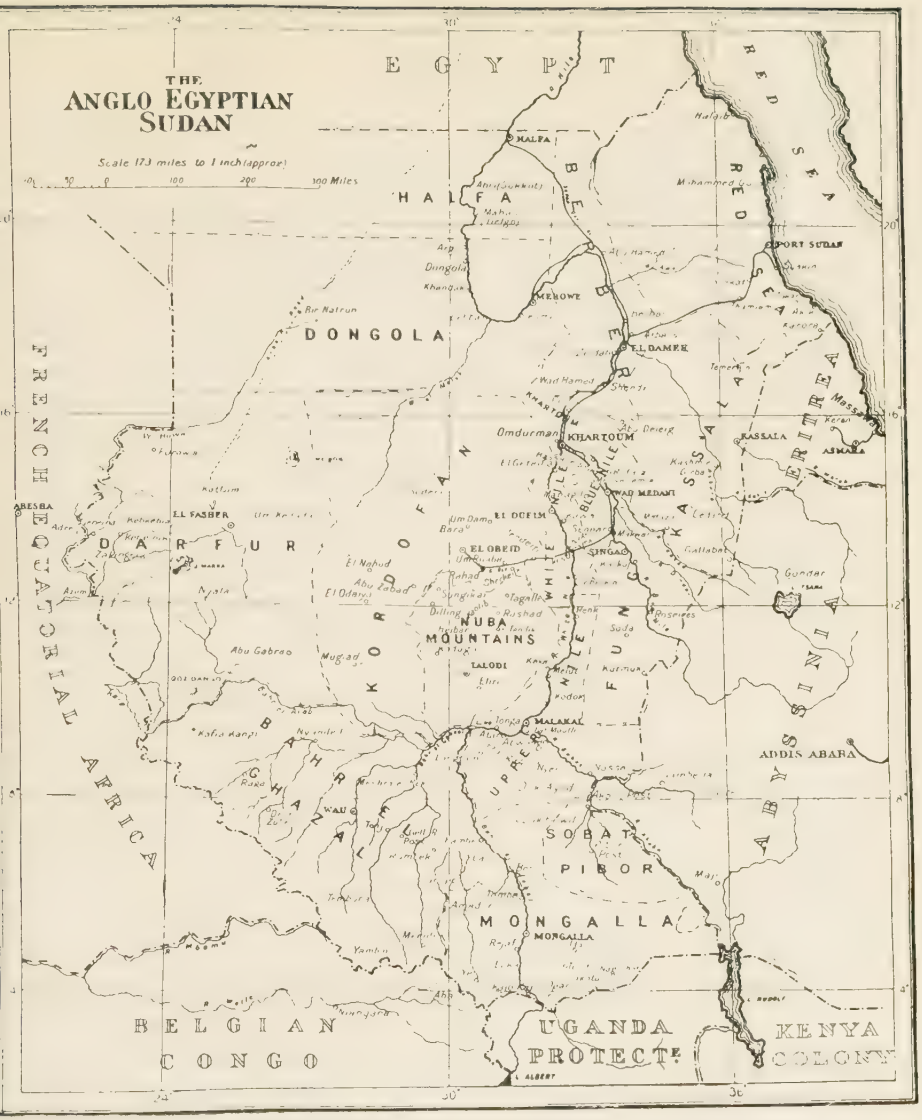
and added that these lines summarize the recent history of the Sudan: the night of pagan ignorance, the coming of the swift cavalry of the Arabian conquerors, the fire and sword of the Mahdi and his Khalifa, and finally the British "guests" with their new administration,

with Gordon College, the missionaries and their schools.

"For Allah created the English mad—the maddest of all mankind.
They do not consider the meaning of Things, they consult not creed nor clan,
Behold they clap the slave on the back, and behold he ariseth a man!
They terribly carpet the earth with dead, and before their cannon cool
They walk unarmed by two's and three's to call the living to school."

In the Sudan we see British rule at its best. The relationship between white and black is in many respects ideal. Something of the manly, independent quality of the Sudanese draws out the best a Briton has to give. Not only the general administration, but the excellent railways, Gordon College, the Wellcome Research Laboratories, the building of the Sennar Dam, and many other things indicate a sense of international stewardship.

The recent development of Port Sudan and the Cape-to-Cairo railway scheme, with its connections, shows that the Sudan now lies at the crossroads of all East Africa. To-day even West Africa is becoming closely linked up. This is due in the first place to the recent development of the Gezira cotton fields in the irrigated areas south of Khartoum. The employment of natives from the Gold Coast and from Northern Nigeria led the way to increased intercourse, and Moslem brotherhoods facilitated it. Long before the building of the Sennar dam the various dervish orders had their visitors from Western Africa in their *tekkes* and exchanged news of the gradual growth of French and British colonial expansion. When they are on their



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THE CROSS-ROADS OF ALL EAST AFRICA

pilgrimage to Mecca—from Khartoum they go via Port Sudan to Jiddah, the port of Mecca, in twenty-four hours.

The following table gives the latest available information regarding the area and population of this great south land, with over a million square miles of area, and over six million people. The Sudan is divided into fifteen provinces as follows:

Province	*Chief Town*	*Area*	*Population*
Bahr-el-Ghazal	Wau	119,800 sq. m.	2,500,000
Berber	El Damer	40,800 "	171,412
Blue Nile	Wad Medani	13,900 "	259,154
Darfur	El Fasher	142,500 "	400,000
Dongola	Merowe	120,100 "	151,849
Fung	Singa	31,800 "	114,000
Halfa	Halfa	113,600 "	40,708
Kassala	Kassala	59,500 "	140,000
Khartoum	Khartoum	5,200 "	186,400
Kordofan	El Obeid	117,400 "	486,622
Mongalla	Mongalla	60,700 "	300,000
Nuba Mountains	Talodi	34,600 "	317,811
Red Sea	Port Sudan	34,900 "	113,415
Upper Nile	Malakal	60,000 "	700,000
White Nile	El Dueim	16,500 "	290,000

The centres of urban population for the whole Sudan are still Khartoum, the capital, with a population of 30,797; North Khartoum, linked by a steel bridge, with 14,319, and Omdurman, a great straggling African city of 78,624 people. At present ferry service binds the latter to Khartoum, but a bridge is being built across the White Nile and there is no doubt that in the near future the twin cities will count two hundred thousand inhabitants. What Gordon in a moment of

pessimism described as a "useless possession" has become one of the great future assets of the British Empire in Africa.

At the junction of the White and the Blue Niles, 1,400 miles from Alexandria and 1,000 miles from Uganda, stands the capital of the Sudan, which but for the life and death of General Gordon might still be a struggling Sudanese village. Khartoum means elephant's trunk, and may well designate that long strip of land which separates the turbid waters of the White Nile from the clear and more rapid streams that come from the mountains of Abyssinia. When one reflects that only about thirty years ago no white man, Christian, Moslem, or Jew, could have passed a single hour in this city without being killed or made a prisoner, and that to-day all races and religions meet under the protection of the Anglo-Egyptian government, the change seems marvellous. Where once fire and sword played havoc and the highest ideals of life were the low ideals of dervish rule, unspeakable in its degradation of womanhood, the horrors of the slave trade, and the fanaticism of religious hatred, now we see on every hand signs of economical, social, and moral progress. The quays, streets, gardens, and public buildings present the picture of a civilized town, as regular and a good deal more ambitious than some metropolis in the growing West. The majority of the streets are wide, macadamized, and lined with beautiful trees. There is an excellent system of lighting, and tram-cars connect Khartoum with the suburbs, from Gordon College on the east to Omdurman on the west, as well as with North Khartoum, across the Blue Nile.

In 1925 the imports of the Sudan were over five

PORTION OF THE KISWAH

The curtain or cover of the Ka'aba at Mecca, commonly but incorrectly called The Holy Carpet. It is embroidered in gold with passages from the Koran and the creed.

THE MOSQUE OF THE PROPHET AT MEDINA

The Mosque contains the graves of Mohammed and of Abu Bekr and Omar, the first two Caliphs. Next to Mecca this is the most sacred shrine for Moslems.

million pounds sterling and the exports over four million pounds; the latter have doubled in five years. Peace and prosperity have gone hand in hand. The population is rapidly increasing. One may travel almost anywhere in the vast area with safety and facility, where only a few years ago certain tribes were a terror to each other and such a menace to private property that trade was well nigh impossible. The Sudan Government railways and steamers are the admiration of all travellers. One may travel from Wady Halfa in the north to Obeid, the capital of Kordofan, in railway carriages as comfortable as Pullman cars.

The population of the Sudan consists of three classes: the pure Arab, the Negroid, and the Black-race. The Arabs entered as conquerors and destroyed the old Christian kingdoms of Nubia and Dongola, as well as those centred at Sobat on the Blue Nile. Only a short distance from Khartoum ruins of Christian churches can be seen—great pillars with crosses—mute witnesses to Christian life centuries before Islam. The Negroids of mixed blood with their dark brown skins, black, crisp hair, long heads, flat noses and thick lips, are considered the best workers in the whole Sudan. The Blacks represent many tribes and races, and until recently they were the slaves both of the Arabs and the Negroids. To-day they are overcoming their natural indolence and are engaged in collecting rubber, senna, and ivory; they even cultivate the land and navigate the rivers. It is estimated that there are over two hundred tribes in the Sudan, some of which, as the Nubas, use a score of dialects. Arabic is becoming dominant in the north. In the south the multiplicity of language presents extraordinary difficulty for the government and for missions.

Barbarous customs of bodily mutilation, teeth-filing, lip-perforation, face-markings, and puberty ordeals, still prevail even among some Moslem tribes. Illiteracy is almost universal, and except in the urban centres superstition rules everywhere. At Omdurman an entire bazaar is devoted to the sale of amulets and charms. Less than one-half of the total population of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan is even nominally Moslem. But Islam is slowly extending its influence everywhere. No definite line marks the border between Moslem and pagan tribes on the map or in the mind of the people. Where Islam penetrates it forms an amalgam, a paganized Islam. The Koran has become a fetish in the place of the old village idol. Stone and tree worship still exist side by side with the mud-built mosque. Yet in the government scheme of education, which began at Khartoum, Islam received the place of honour. The Koran is the primary textbook, and for all practical purposes Islam is made the state religion. Friday is the legal holiday, and already over six hundred mosques are found in Khartoum and the provinces, some of them handsome buildings built in part by government grants. Every year thousands of Sudanese go to Mecca and return with fanatic zeal for their religion.

On every hand one sees the contrast of two civilizations—that of Islam, which is gradually but surely passing away, and that of Europe, which dominates and supplants. And yet these two civilizations are still struggling for the mastery. They exist side by side in what might be termed armed neutrality. The Mahdi's tomb has been destroyed, but the splendid new mosque in the centre of Khartoum was erected by the government for Moslem worship. The Cathedral, erected in memory of Gordon, is a magnificent building, but, like

the mosque, is still uncompleted. The two buildings seem to challenge each other as to which shall first see the finishing touch of the architect. From the minarets one hears the cry of the muezzin that " Mohammed is God's apostle;" and in the Cathedral they pray that His kingdom may come who brooks no rival, and that His will may be done throughout the Sudan—surely also by observing the Christian Sabbath.

The Courts of Justice rise in splendid architectural beauty, but the law that is administered in them is still largely Mohammedan and mediæval. The civil code is Moslem but the criminal code follows British law.

Khartoum offers, as no other city, the contrast of two religions, that of the mosque and of the cathedral, of the Crescent and of the Cross, the standards of the prophet of Mecca and of our Saviour Jesus Christ. The city has two calendars, dating one from 622 A. D. and one from the birth of our Saviour. Outside of Khartoum, in the vast Sudan, Islam still seems to be chiefly a veneer, and the negro blood carries with it a characteristic jovial friendship and responsiveness to approach; but in Khartoum and Omdurman Islam is stiffening and deepening its grip on the people.

We could expect nothing else when we recall the scheme of primary education inaugurated shortly after the occupation of the Sudan and developed on Islamic lines. The early regulations, now fortunately abrogated, read:

" No mission station is allowed to be formed north of the tenth parallel of latitude in any part of the Sudan which is recognized by the Government as Moslem. . . . Each mission must be a separate body, under the sole control of its local head resident in the country." And " before Moham-

medan children are permitted to attend a mission school the head of the school shall satisfy himself that the parents or guardians understand that the school is a Christian school. The full consent of the parents or guardians must be obtained, when possible in writing, by the head of the school before any pupil is given religious instruction, no matter of what nationality or religion the pupil may be. When religious instruction is being given, no other children, except those whose parents have given the necessary permission, must be present."

In the series of otherwise excellent reading books prepared by the Government, the same note was dominant and has undoubtedly affected the minds of the present generation. Ten years ago, after careful examination, a missionary described their character and contents as follows:

"These four readers were prepared by two sheikhs from the Azhar University, assisted by an Egyptian teacher. They are copyrighted by the Sudan Government, and are used now in all the schools. The books are well printed, and in every way externally suitable for primary and secondary instruction; but from first to last they are Mohammedan, and nothing in them calls the reader's attention to the great facts of Christianity or to Christian ethics and civilization.

"The first number, and all the others, begins with the following prayer, which is put appropriately (!) opposite to a frontispiece of Chinese Gordon and his Memorial College: 'Praise be to God, who taught man what he did not know, and prayer and peace be upon the Seal of the prophets and upon his family and his companions.' In giving an account of the calendar (Lesson 10), the Moslem calendar and era is presented; the Christian era is mentioned incidentally. Wherever Mohammed's name is mentioned—and it occurs

frequently in this series of readers—it is always accompanied by a prayer. In Lesson 27 these words occur: 'It is incumbent upon us all to follow the commands of God and of His Apostle, and to do what He expects of us of justice and mercy toward His creatures.' In the first reading book there is no reference to any hero or heroine save the companions of Mohammed the Prophet. Lesson 62 is entitled 'Obedience Most Important,' and begins with these words: 'Said God Most High, "O ye who believe, be obedient to God and to His Apostle and to those in authority."'

"The second reading book has, as frontispiece, portraits of Lord Kitchener and Sir Reginald Wingate. Then follows the prayer for the Prophet Mohammed and a series of Islamic lessons, as well as lessons on natural history and geography. One would think that in speaking of hygiene (Lessons 8 and 9) Islam would scarcely come to its own, but even here special references are made to the Divine provision for washing five or six times a day, in order to protect the body from germs. Lesson 24 is entitled, 'Koran Ethics,' and is a selection from the famous Surat Lukman. Lessons 38 and 39 give a description of Mecca and Medina as the two most important cities of the world. The latter lesson has the coronation hymn to Mohammed as the greatest of the prophets. Lesson 40 gives the farewell discourse.

"The third reading book has even less Christianity, because there are no illustrations. It begins with the customary prayer. In Lesson 9 we have a poem which teaches fatalism. Lesson 21 is from the Koran, and wherever Koran passages occur they are fully vowelled to show their importance. Lesson 27 is on justice and equity. All the quotations are from the Koran and from Mohammedan tradition, and the illustrative stories are of the same character; although this book contains lessons about the gum tree and other Sudan plants, as well as geographical matter. Lesson 34 again brings us back to the main theme of primary instruction—namely, Islam. This lesson deals with the fundamentals of the Moslem faith. Islam is built upon five

pillars, we are told, and then follow certain traditions and explanation of the ritual and the creed. Lesson 38 gives an account of the founder of the Maliki, a Moslem sect which prevails in Upper Egypt and in some parts of the Sudan. So that, in the fullest sense of the word, these primers may be called sectarian, as well as Moslem.

"The fourth reading book is different from the others only in this respect—that as the pupil progresses in his knowledge of Arabic the book contains even more Islamic material. Nearly every lesson has a quotation from the Koran. The second lesson tells of the mission of Mohammed and how revelation came to him. The lessons that follow give a history of the early Caliphate. A full description is given of Cairo as the capital of the world of Islam and of the Azhar University. The poetry is fatalistic. There are lessons on science and the arts, but the book returns again to its leading theme by giving another description of the Azhar. The fundamentals of the faith are fully described—fasting, alms-giving, pilgrimages, as duties incumbent upon all who would obey God and His prophet. It would be difficult to pick out a single lesson which does not have Moslem ideas and ideals. There is a description of London, which seems to be free from any reference to the Woking Mosque, but this must have been an oversight. Two or three lessons deal with ancient Egypt, and one gives an account of the British Empire. There is no reference to the life and character of Jesus Christ, nothing on such great events as the Reformation or the work of Christian missions in non-Christian lands, nor is there a single lesson devoted to any Christian hero. One looks in vain for Washington, Lincoln, Gladstone, Queen Victoria, Florence Nightingale, or even Gordon himself as a Christian who at least gave his name to the college."

We are happy, however, to note changes in the educational policy and the attitude of the Government.

There is another side to the question. As Bishop Gwynne expressed it in a recent article:

"Though the Sudan Government officially discouraged Christian missionaries in the Northern Sudan on political grounds, and always carefully guarded Moslems from any undue interference or aggressive propaganda, nevertheless, through the class of English men and women brought out under its administration, there has been provided the greatest disintegrating element in Islam ever introduced into the country. Without saying a word against Mohammed or interfering in any way with the Moslems' religion or the exercise of it—sometimes when they have even encouraged them in their faith—yet by the cleanness of their lives, their devotion to duty, their honesty and integrity, their Christian character, and, thank God, by the unobtrusive observance of their own religion, they have loosened in the natives their trust in Islam as a spiritual force in the building up of character. One could give the testimony of Sudan Moslem friends, who never will become Christians, and yet who have been conscious of this fact. God has many ways of spreading His Kingdom.

"Sometimes one has felt, in spite of what has been said above, that the very discouragement of direct Christian missionary effort has been a great incentive to many Moslems to find out for themselves the secret of the power in the lives of these Christian Englishmen. These are they who, in an incredibly short time—only little over a quarter of a century—have turned tyranny and oppression into an administration of liberty, justice, and righteousness; changed a desert into harvests of corn, and clothed a bare wilderness with cotton fields; and persuaded the fierce fighting tribes to turn their spears into pruning-hooks and their swords into ploughshares."[1]

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[1] "Missionary Work in the Sudan," in *Church Missionary Review*, September, 1926.

Islam, however, has its own program of peaceful penetration. Everywhere one finds the Religious Brotherhoods of Islam in evidence. The Qadariya (here called the Jilaniya), the Mirganiya, Ahmadiya (or Idrisiya) and the Rashidiya orders have their *zawias* or religious houses.[2] We visited one at Um Dabban, near Khartoum. It was a bee-hive of many activities—school and mosque, sacred tree and enclosure, a place for sacrifice and holy graves, a guest house, nicely furnished, where they offered us tinned provisions and coffee. In such centres out in the open desert they teach young lads the mystic Way and from here the *weli* or saint goes on his pilgrimage. Finally the saints, male or female, die and their tombs become centres of miracle and pilgrimage. At Khartoum North we visited two of such saints' tombs. That of Nafessa is scarcely thirty years old, but it has a constant stream of worshippers and the grave is covered with more "holy curtains" of many hues than the Tabernacle in the wilderness. In the Northern Sudan on many a barren hill and under every green tree we may see saints in the making. Worship consists of muttered prayers, touching the grave or tying bits of cloth to the bier and rubbing its dust on the forehead. Thank-offerings for recovery consist of white and red flags fluttering on tall poles, and so attracting new devotees.

Among the pagan tribes Animism, with its doctrine of an ever-present supernatural world—seen in the whirling of desert winds, the mirage, the uncanny gnarled tree, the hovering spirits of bird and beast and

[2] Carmine Willis, *Religious Confraternities of the Sudan*, Khartoum, 1921.

man—holds myriads of hearts in bondage through fear of death and the beyond.

By the establishment of impartial justice between man and man; by maintaining domestic tranquility and peace; by economic development through irrigation works and the introduction of new agricultural products and methods; by education, especially at Gordon College and in the newly opened Kitchener Memorial Medical School; by the widespread influence of the Wellcome Research Laboratories in studying and checking disease; by the opening of government dispensaries and hospitals, Great Britain has proved worthy of her great trust. The completion of the great dam at Sennar, already flooding 300,000 fertile acres in the Gezireh plain, marked another step in the evolution of the Sudan. Most appropriately, the inauguration of the dam was not only a civic triumph, but a religious ceremony, and prayers were offered by the Mohammedan mufti and by the Anglican bishop of Egypt and the Sudan, the Rt. Rev. Ll. H. Gwynne. But the Sudan cannot live by bread alone. If any land has a claim and a challenge for missionary enterprise it is this border land.

Many centuries before Charles George Gordon laid down his life at Khartoum, other Christian martyrs witnessed for their faith. If the meagre records of Church historians were altogether silent the very stones would cry out that the Sudan belongs to Christ. In June, 1698, the Jesuit missionary father, Charles Xavier de Brevedent, entered the Sudan, then known as the Empire of Ethiopia. He died just before reaching his goal, but his companion, Dr. Poncet, records their impressions:[3]

[3] *A Voyage to Æthiopia,* translated from the French, London, 1709.

"Altho' Mahometanism is what at present they make Profession of, yet they know no more than the bare Formulary of their Profession of Faith, which they repeat upon all occasions. What is truly deplorable, and which drew Tears from the Eyes of Father Brevedent, my dear Companion, is, that it is not long since this was a Christian Country, and that it has not lost the Faith but only for want of some person who had zeal enough to consecrate himself to the Instruction of this abandoned Nation. Upon our way we found a great number of Hermitages and Churches half ruin'd."

The first Roman Catholic mission, however, was not established in the Sudan until 1846. It continued to work until the time of the Mahdi rebellion. Father Ohrwalder and others were taken prisoners, and with horrible cruelty the mission was destroyed.[4] When peace was restored in the Sudan, in 1898, this work was again taken up. At present there are four missionary bodies at work: the Roman Catholic (Austrian), the Church Missionary Society (Anglican), the United Presbyterian Mission (American), and the Sudan United Mission (Australian).

As early as 1878 Gordon advocated the evangelization of the Sudan. In 1899, the Church Missionary Society sent out its first workers, and at present the following stations are occupied: Khartoum, Omdurman, Wad Medani, and Atbara. In the southern portion of the Sudan is Malek, one thousand miles higher up the Nile than Khartoum, where the station dates from 1905, when, on invitation of Lord Cromer, it was occupied with a view to reaching the Dinkas (Jiengs), a pagan tribe. Other stations for work among them

[4] *Cf. Ten Years' Captivity in the Mahdi's Camp,* by Father Ohrwalder.

are Juba, with a boarding-school for the sons of chiefs, Yei, Yambio, Opari, and Lui. The girls' schools at Omdurman and Khartoum are drawing an ever larger circle of friendship among the people and the well-equipped hospital at Omdurman, under Dr. Lloyd, is like a beacon light for the whole community. The whole Moslem staff of the hospital have caught the spirit of service and are following Christ's example, even before they have gained courage to confess Him openly.

The work in Bahr-el-Ghazel Province has closer affinity with Uganda than with the north. In a recent letter Bishop Gwynne writes:

"It is a matter of great satisfaction to report that what has been talked about so long will, please God, be accomplished this year: that is the separation of the southern provinces of the Sudan to form a new diocese, with part of Uganda. The Venerable Archdeacon Kitchen, who has been for more than twenty-five years a missionary in Uganda, is to be the first bishop of the contemplated diocese. With definite objects and magnificent opportunities, that which had already been won through the strenuous efforts of the missionaries will be consolidated and new schemes for advance planned, and thus another section of the line will be completed in that sphere occupied by our Church."

The American United Presbyterian Mission entered in 1900 under the leadership of the Rev. John Kelly Giffen, D.D., and Rev. George A. Sowash, D.D. With similar enterprise and methods as in the Nile Valley their work has expanded until it reaches from Wady Halfa across the borders and into Abyssinia. They have work at Halfa, Khartoum, Omdurman, Khartoum North, Geraife, Atbara, Sinkat, Wad Medani,

Dongola, and Port Sudan; in the south at Doleib Hill and Nasser.

Although this wide field is very much under-manned and has suffered irreparable losses by death, recent years have witnessed a distinct advance on every line of endeavour. The schools are crowded with pupils, the hospitals with patients and homes with visitors and inquirers. The largest Bible class of Moslems in all North Africa, so far as I know, meets every Sabbath in the American Mission School at Omdurman; one hundred and twenty are taught the story of Christ and of Paul by a converted Moslem.

The Sudan United Mission has five stations, at Melut, Rom, Meriok, Heiban and Abri, reaching the Dinka, Shilluk, Nuer and Nuba Mountains people, with a staff of fourteen missionaries.

The Sudan United Mission workers have been invited by the Government to extend their operations in Nuba Mountain Province, and it is probable that the natural expansion of the work of the three societies will, before long, cover the whole of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. The country is rapidly being opened up by railways and good roads, considerably facilitating missionary work.

Every form of missionary effort indeed finds fruitful results in the Sudan to-day. Agricultural and industrial schools, although only recently opened, have proved their value. The education of the African can best follow the lines of such institutions as Tuskegee and Hampton. Primary and secondary education for boys and girls is a missionary necessity, since the only government education so far provided is Islamic in its textbooks and tendency. One has only to look into the eager faces of the pupils in any of the mission schools

to realize that such thirst for knowledge and such hunger for friendship and guidance are a call of God to teach all these tribes. In Arabic and English and in some of the many dialects, the people already read for themselves the Greatest Story in the world. The need for hospitals and dispensaries is self-evident. Where the natives have the choice between a government and a mission hospital they choose the place where " mercy and truth are met together."

Doors once closed are wide open, and the people responsive as never before. At Doleib Hill, where the missionaries toiled for two decades scattering the good seed in hard and barren soil, there is now the joy of the harvest. Nineteen hundred are attending Sunday schools, and some hundreds have been baptized. In Omdurman, within a stone's throw of the ruined tomb of the Mahdi, three to four hundred Moslem men gathered night after night for an open-air evangelistic meeting in the American Mission compound. At the time of our visit, the addresses were on such subjects as: " What is Christianity? " " Who is Jesus Christ? " " Was Christ Crucified? " " Is there Joy in the Christian Life? "—and the audience was as attentive as in a church service at home. Over a hundred of the leading men accepted a special gift of St. Matthew's Gospel after an address on the " Principles of True Civilization." Religious books and scriptures to the value of £10 were sold at these meetings. In the Coptic cathedral at Khartoum two mass meetings were held on week-days, and at least fifteen hundred were present on both occasions.

Among the young men and boys there is such a demand for literature of the right type that the Church Missionary Society is planning to open a book-shop at

Khartoum. The American Mission agricultural school at Geraif is conducted on the lines of similar work in the Southern States, and promises much for the future. There is sympathy and co-operation with the missions on the part of many of the leading government officials, and an increasing conviction that Islam is not the best religion for the Sudan. The many Christian activities centering at the clergy house and the cathedral at Khartoum for the British of all classes are also a powerful witness for Christ. The growing native church is becoming conscious of its mission and eager to enter regions beyond. At a general meeting of all the missionaries and native pastors and teachers, men and women, the conviction was expressed that only by doubling the forces now on the field could the present opportunity be adequately met. Every station and every institution visited is under-staffed. The places where " the true Light now shineth " are, after all, like little candles burning in the night of paganism and Islam. Vast areas and millions of people are untouched by all the societies now on the field. The provinces of Kassala, Dongola (for the greater part), Kordofan, Darfur, the northern half of Bahr-el-Ghazal, the Nuba Mountains, Fung, and the White Nile district, are practically unoccupied. Who holds the mandate for the spiritual and moral uplift of these multitudes?

Remembering the utter destitution and the long neglect of these vast areas and large populations, the lines written on seeing Gordon's statue as it stands facing the great desert and the Sudan at Khartoum, have a living message:

" The strings of camels come in single file,
Bearing their burdens o'er the desert sand;

Swiftly the boats go plying on the Nile,
The needs of men are met on every hand.
But still I wait
For the messenger of God who cometh late."

The great dam at Sennar is a rebuke and a challenge to the faint-hearted and lukewarm in the Christian churches. Here is material investment of £8,000,000 sterling of concrete and steel, of brain and brawn, with absolute faith that the investment will bring adequate return. Faith in what? In the fertile soil, in the *fellahin* Sudanese, and in the laws of nature. We have the reservoir of God's unfailing grace and power; we have the soil of the human heart, fashioned everywhere alike, and thirsting for the living God; we have the seed of the divine Word which, if it fall into the ground and die, never fails to produce a harvest. Who dares to begrudge the investment of a few hundred thousand pounds and the hundred additional missionaries needed to make Christ known in every province of the vast Sudan?

XI

ISLAM IN NORTH AFRICA

ONLY fifteen miles across, the narrow sea separates the Pillars of Hercules; Tangier, that great international bone of contention, lies only across the bay from Spain. Thousands of ships pass through the straits, carrying the commerce of the seven seas, and yet the distance between Europe and Morocco is still measured not in miles but in terms of centuries and civilizations.

To-day one can travel in Morocco, as we did in 1922, along splendid automobile roads at thirty-five miles an hour and railways are open or being constructed from north to south and from Casa Blanca to Oran. No part of the world has seen such marvellous changes in a single generation as has Morocco. In 1910 no telegraph existed, nor telephone, nor Arabic newspaper. The country was in complete isolation, with suspicion, greed, fanaticism and cruelty dominating the higher ranks of society while the population at large was living in the tribal stage of social development.

The government of Morocco at that time was described by Sir John Drummond Hay as a "kingdom of fishes wherein the biggest one of all lives by devouring the next biggest, those in turn the smaller, and so down to the minnows feeding on inanimate larvæ." To-day the whole of northern Morocco enjoys a French protectorate. Casa Blanca has developed from a mere

A SABIL IN CAIRO

Such ancient public drinking fountains were formerly endowed for public use, and served as rendezvous. They are still used for this purpose, and often also for the posting of public notices.

THREE MOSQUES AT CAIRO

That of Sultan Hassan to the left, the one called Al Rafai' in the centre, and Al Mahmudiya, with its staircase, to the right. All are near the Citadel.

fishing village to a modern city. Education, freedom, and economic prosperity are everywhere in evidence, and one can say without exaggeration that Morocco to-day is no longer an African but a European country, with the same laws as in France, the same conveniences for travel, and that the most backward of all nations has entered into the great family and polity of Europe.

It was our privilege to visit nearly all of the mission stations in North Africa from Kairawan to Casa Blanca, for the special study of the character of Islam, and its literature, and to secure larger co-operation of the workers in this field with those in Cairo, for Moslem evangelization. Conferences were held with groups of missionaries at Tunis, Constantine, Algiers, Marrakesh and Tangier. The observations that follow are based on the discussions held at these conferences, our experiences during the four weeks of travel by rail and motor, and also on information obtained from government publications and in interviews. We give outlines and not details, therefore; charcoal sketches are not to be judged as photographs or paintings.

Geography. Exclusive of Egypt, Tripoli and the Spanish zone of Morocco, North Africa forms a more or less complete unit under French colonial administration.

According to the most recent authorities, the area of Morocco is about 231,500 square miles. Of this, Spain claims 10,000 square miles. The population of French Morocco is estimated at 5,500,000, including 75,000 Jews, and 50,000 Europeans. The total population, including the Spanish zone, may be put at 6,000,000. Until the beginning of the twentieth century, the history of Morocco could be written in a

sentence,—a succession of dynasties ruling according to Moslem law and being deposed generally by assassination while the people suffered the darkness and the horrors of Islam. The capital cities of Morocco are Fez, Tafilet, Marrakesh, and Rabat. Here the Sultan still has his palaces, and at the last-named place the Governor-General, Maréchal Lyautey, had his residence at the time of our visit.

Algeria and Tunisia have so much in common that they may be considered almost a unit. Only thirty hours from Marseilles by palatial steamers, and knit together by 5393 kilometres of railways with telegraph and finely built highways everywhere, possessing a common relationship with France, they cause one to revise one's geography and speak of them as provinces of Southern France. Algeria actually is a part of France since 1871, when the rebellion was crushed. It is divided into departments and sends senators and deputies to the French Parliament. It has its own budget, however, and the local prefects (governors of departments) are answerable to the Governor-General, and not directly to Paris. Tunisia and Morocco are protectorates, with their own native rulers and officials side by side with those of the protecting power. In Tunisia, under the Convention of 1881 with the then ruling Bey, which set up the protectorate, power centres in the hands of the French Resident-General, who is also Minister of Foreign Affairs, and to whose advice the Bey is forced to submit. Of the other ten ministers, eight are French and two Tunisian. The provincial governors also are all French, and the native element is found in considerable numbers only in the lower ranks of officials. There is no elective assembly. A protectorate of this kind is practically indistinguish-

able from annexation, and the French hold of Tunisia is weaker than that over Algeria only because of the more formidable organization of native opinion which former independence makes possible.[1]

The area of Algeria is about 222,000 square miles. It has a population of 5,800,000. Tunisia has an area of 50,000 square miles and a total population of nearly 2,000,000. The total European population of all nationalities is about 800,000 for Algeria and less than 200,000 for Tunisia. The Italians are in excess of the French, and the Jews form a considerable proportion. The chief cities are: Algiers, Oran, Constantine, Tlemcen and Tunis.

The total population of the French colonies and protectorates in North Africa is nearly fourteen millions, and they belong to various races and linguistic groups.

Races. The races of Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia are, generally speaking, Arab, Berber, Negroid and French. The negro type is almost negligible, for there is even less negro blood in Morocco than in Egypt. It is important to remember that in all North Africa we are dealing with races that are closely related to Europe. Their physiognomy, civilization, traditions, and even superstitions all point to Southern Europe. This fact enormously emphasizes the importance of winning these virile tribes for Christ. They have in them sterling qualities of leadership, endurance and enterprise.

A language map of Algeria (and the same is true in a larger degree of Morocco and Tunisia) would show the Berber race as islands in the midst of pure Arab-speaking populations. In some sections one may ob-

[1] *Cf.* H. E. Wortham's "France's Problem in North Africa," *Atlantic Monthly,* February, 1922.

serve the ascendancy of the Berber over Arabic, but in other sections the contrary is evident. It is important to remember this because the southern boundary of all North Africa is undetermined. For Islam, the Sahara was never a barrier, but a habitat.

Because Morocco is separated from Europe and joined to Africa, we are apt to regard its peoples also as African, or, at any rate, as Arabs from Asia. This is a mistake. Sir Harry Johnston has well described Morocco as a "European island at the northwest of Africa." The real African continent begins at the Atlas Mountains. North of the Atlas the population is European in its origin and physical features. A small proportion, less than five per cent., are negroes or of negro descent—slaves brought from the Western Sudan, but the rest, whether Arabs, Berbers or Jews, belong to the Caucasian branch.

Government. Vast economic changes have taken place owing to the French occupation of North Africa. It is evident on every hand that law and order, commerce and trade, education and humanization, have worked marvels in a comparatively short time throughout all of these vast areas.

The French Government in its attitude toward Islam is a paradox. Its educational policy has from the outset been neutral, and not Islamic as in the case of the British Government in the Sudan and Egypt. Mosques have, at the time of the conquest, been destroyed or changed into churches. The beautiful cathedral of Algiers is an example. This bold policy has succeeded where compromise might have failed. Yet France, too, has done obeisance to Islam. For example, in issuing paper francs during the war, a Koran text was printed on each note and did tribute to Allah's authority in

preventing depreciation (*Wailun lil mutaffifin*—Woe to those who depreciate values). Secular education, however, French literature, the drama, and the ubiquitous cinema have undermined old Islamic ideals.

Nationalism, as in Egypt, has taken the place of religion among the younger leaders. We met a number of these at their club in Tlemcen, and when asked to lecture on the principles of civilization, we found no religious prejudice or intolerance, but national pride was the more in evidence.

In Casa Blanca it was our privilege to have an interview with the Governor-General, Maréchal Lyautey, a man of commanding presence and great cordiality.

"Education," said Maréchal Lyautey, "is my great preoccupation. I have founded two Moslem colleges, one at Fez and one at Rabat. In these colleges we receive picked students—the best and most capable of the educated classes. I myself chose those whom I desire to have. They receive a first-class French education, and Arabic teaching sufficient for their religion. I always choose French teachers who are believers, not atheists or free-thinkers.

"The one thing Moslems fear is that their children may become free-thinkers, atheists. They gladly accept Christian teachers if they are real believers, and I do my best to find such men, but it is not always easy. I do not want to have a generation of Moslem atheists. Therefore, I do not encourage Moslems to go to the French schools for Europeans and mix with the Europeans, for then they may lose their faith and try to become lawyers and politicians, forming a Young Moorish party like the Young Turks, the Young Egyptians, etc. Men who have lost their faith lose their respect for authority and fall a prey to Bolshevism and anarchism. I want the Moors to remain believers under the control of their own Sultan. As for popular education, my aim is to reach the masses, giving them a simple knowl-

edge of Arabic, but especially in industrial schools, teaching them to work with their hands constructively, not with their brains and pens destructively."

France has established her ascendancy in Morocco with a minimum of effort because of the genius for leadership in the first Governor-General. The appointment of Moorish Ministers for Finance and Justice, with French advisers, is on the model of Egypt. The prosperity under the new rule is evident everywhere. Imports in ten years have risen from 10,000,000 to 813,000,000 francs.

The educational system is being rapidly developed and already there are fourteen Franco-Arab schools, two colleges and the beginnings of primary education in all of the larger cities. In addition to Arabic, the French are stimulating the study of Shilha, which is the colloquial of Morocco. With the exception of one or two missionaries, this language has scarcely been studied by Europeans; it bears the same relation to the Arabic in Morocco that the Berber speech does to the Arabic of Algeria.

The French Government has spent on medical work alone in sixty-eight hospitals, dispensaries and lazarettos, over £300,000 sterling, and in one year nearly 1,000,000 attendances were registered in these institutions. This constitutes an achievement difficult to grasp, both as regards the amount of suffering relieved and the immense influence it must have upon the people.

Religion. In North Africa one may read, as though from a palimpsest, the story of early Christianity in its conquest of Roman paganism, and later the conquest of the former by Islam. The Christian churches

of North Africa were not only defeated by Islam, but wiped out. There are to-day no Oriental Christians in Tripoli, Tunisia, Algeria, or Morocco.

The story of the conquest of Islam is well known. The people had no Christian literature in their vernacular, not even the Bible, and so no remnant of the Church remained. Only in some customs and superstitions do we still find traces of early Christianity.

The general character of Islam in North Africa is like that of Egypt or Arabia. Saint worship is exceedingly common. Illiteracy, although decreasing, still claims ninety per cent. of the population.

Western civilization has rent Islam into old and new, and the chasm deepens daily. On the one hand, an attempt to hold fast to the old traditions; on the other, the effort is made to remain nominally Moslem while really losing faith in all its essentials. The French language is winning its way, and Arabic, although artificially stimulated, no longer grips the minds of the rising generation. Throughout this whole field there is a wide-open door for the use of French to win Moslem hearts.

The social and moral conditions of Morocco are undoubtedly the direct result of the religion which has dominated for so many centuries. The virtues and defects of the Arabian faith are everywhere in evidence. No Moslem land has so much superstition, saint-worship and prejudice against all that is not Moslem as has this land. Womanhood is degraded, children are neglected, the blind and maimed beg on the streets. The city of Fez to-day is a microcosm of Islamic life, a replica of the *Arabian Nights*, but in the twentieth century. Its schools, its prisons, its madhouse for the insane (a ghastly place), its

bazaars and mosques and palaces, all tell the same story.

Yet Islam, although unprogressive and hopelessly handicapped by its low standard of ethics and its mediæval intolerance toward minorities, has marvellous vitality. This is most evident in the spread and power of the religious fraternities, the so-called derwish orders. There is not a single Moslem land where they do not exert a strong influence on the common people, and they knit together distant centres into one great web of mystic unity.

The present-day strength of Islam consists in its pan-Islamic conception and program. This has a two-fold character: on the one hand, Nationalism with a political program, and on the other hand, Mysticism, as interpreted and organized in the derwish orders. The one tendency is political and finds its centre in the struggle about the Caliphate; the other tendency is religious and has for its goal a spiritual deliverance through a Mahdi. The one movement is strongest in Eastern Islam, *e. g.*, Turkey and India; the other in the West, especially Morocco. The one tends to division; the other to unity. The one prevails more among the educated and enlightened; the other among the common people,—the illiterate. The centre of propagandism in the one case is the press; in the other it is the Zikr or religious ceremony. Both movements are based on a living hope in the final triumph of Islam.

Each of the leaders or founders of one of the many Orders draws his authority from a chain of spiritual ancestors in which he is the last link. He receives his spiritual power through apostolic succession. His authority is expressed by two words, *Barakat, i. e.,*

the power of blessing; and *Tesarruf, i. e.,* the power of demanding obedience. The superstitious and credulous mind of the common people becomes the easy dupe of such a system.

Each one of the derwish orders is called a *Tariqa* or Pathway to God. The rules of the orders include three things: (1) the mystic doctrine, (2) the mystic rites, and (3) the ascetic practices. Each of these differs among the various orders.

In regard to the doctrine of Sufism, two schools are distinguished, both of which have the same aim and yet follow a different interpretation. The goal of their teaching consists in a search for annihilation of the passions and self, a process which somewhat corresponds to what Puritan theology calls " the death of the old Adam."

The two schools of thought among the dervishes are called the " *Batiniya* " and " *Zaheriya.*" The former take as their point of departure man's consciousness of God. They believe that by inward contemplation the goal can be reached. On the other hand, the *Zaheriya* believe that vocal exercise and gymnastic practice are the only methods to launch out upon the ocean of divinity. Dancing, whirling, shouting, singing, and music are among their prescribed devotions.

The rites of the various orders differ. First, there is the right of initiation and enrolment, including the oath of allegiance. In one case it is required of the novitiate to repeat 60,000 times the Moslem Creed. Secondly, among the rites of the orders, are peculiar dress or distinguishing marks on their vesture. Thirdly, the practices of the various orders by which they are chiefly distinguished may be divided into three: (1) Complete *obedience,* as the corpse in the

hands of those who wash it. (2) *Isolation* or seclusion for the purpose of meditating upon God. This is generally done in a mosque, but also frequently in a desert or far from human habitations. (3) *The united meeting* of members of the order, which is called the *Zikr*. Of this there are two kinds—the daily service and the weekly. The ritual of each order regulates with great care every movement, attitude, tone of the voice, and gesture of these religious exercises.

They run the entire gamut from the silence of the orders whose meetings resemble those of the Quakers to the violent performance of the Isawia, which I witnessed at Bugia in Algeria. Besides the *Zikr*, which is obligatory, the ritual of the orders includes other devotions which take place daily and are called *Wird* and *Hizb*. The former consists of the repetition, thousands of times, of a short prayer, generally taken from the Koran. The latter consists in the reading of other portions of the Koran or the repetition of the ninety-nine names of God.

The fact that these dervish orders cover, as with a spiritual network, the whole of the Moslem world raises the question of the relation between Moslem mysticism and the Gospel message. There is no doubt that there are many points of contact which the missionary needs to study and use, with caution it is true, but also with confidence.

First of all, we may learn from them the importance of *itineration* and the need of work for *children*. Thousands of these mendicants wander about the Moslem world. They travel great distances. One may see a Baghdad dervish at Samarkand, or one of these saints from the Panjab, surrounded by a crowd of urchins, in Morocco. They write talismans, sell amulets, cast out

demons, and exercise a superstitious influence generally on ignorant people.

Time would fail to describe all of their methods. Many of the wandering faqirs are truly devoted to God, but others are mere mountebanks and sorcerers who live by necromancy, geomancy, and the writing of charms. Some of them tell people's fortunes from the sand on a rug spread out before them.

Their whole organization, however, and their doctrine of sainthood point to the need for a mediator. There is scarcely a Mohammedan village in Central Asia or in North Africa that does not have its *weli* or patron saint. Perhaps Allah was too far removed from our common humanity, and his very remoteness made the intercession of saints a necessary part of the Moslem religion; or it may be that this feature was introduced from Oriental Christianity. In any case, the saint's tomb is the place to which the mother goes in her need, where she vows so many candles to be burned for the health of her child, or mourns the death of her first-born. As a rule, these saints have only a local celebrity.

Christ is the Way, the Truth, and the Life. His Word is the key to the problems of the mystics. His life is the golden mean between worldliness and asceticism. The parables indicate how we may lose ourselves in God without losing our identity, how the branch may bear fruit in the vine, the members have life from the head, and how we may know by a living experience that we are in Christ and Christ in us. Compare those mystics in Islam who found Christ, especially the life of Dr. Imad-ud-Din, of India. Missions in all lands, but especially in North Africa, must face this aspect of Islam. The Moslem brotherhoods

are a challenge to the Christian brotherhood and to the formation of a Christian Church which will have all the elements of strength of Moslem mystic union without its vagaries and lawlessness.

Christian missions were late in arriving in North Africa. The pioneer work of Raymond Lull in the thirteenth century found no successor until the nineteenth century. Scarcely a witness for Christ appeared in Morocco, Algeria or Tunisia. In 1858, Mr. Furniss Ogle, a clergyman of the Church of England, settled at Oran and attempted work among the Spanish and the natives. He was embarrassed by the Government and on his way back to England, in 1865, suffered shipwreck and was drowned. In 1880, Mr. George Pierce began investigations in Algeria which led to the formation of an independent work, the North Africa Mission. The French churches at one time planned missions in Algeria, but were warned that religious propaganda would arouse Moslem fanaticism. The London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews has conducted work for two decades at Tunis and Mogador, Morocco, while the British and Foreign Bible Society had its agents in the field at a very early date. At present the following missions are working in Algeria and Tunisia: The North Africa Mission, the Algiers Mission Band, Christian Missions in Many Lands, Mission to the Spaniards in Algiers, the London Jews Society, the French Evangelistic Mission, the Methodist Episcopal Church. There are also some independent workers with no regular connection. The following twenty-nine stations are occupied, beginning from the west: Tlemcen, Oran, Relizane, Mascara, Mostaganem, Miliana, Cherchell, Blida, Algiers, Mekla, Djema-Sahrij, Azazga, Tiziouzou, Almaten,

Sidi 'Aich, El Mizan, Tabarauth, Tazmalt, Bougie, Constantine, Bone, Tebessa, Tunis, Bizerta, Tozeur, Sousse, Kairwan, and Sfax.

This list of stations would indicate an occupation of the field. The fact, however, is that many of them are under-manned or the work is represented only by one or two workers who are often overworked, in some cases underpaid, and have no adequate program or backing from a strong organization at home.

This has been the tragedy of missions in North Africa until the arrival of the Methodist Episcopal Church Mission. Under the leadership of Bishop Hartzell, the Methodist Church began an organized work at Algiers in 1908. They plan not only the definite occupation of all Algiers and Tunisia, but also of Morocco. The workers are well selected and their organization and equipment offers great promise for the future. Already they have purchased $200,000 of real estate in various important centres. The lines of work followed are medical missions (*i. e.*, dispensaries, not hospitals), evangelistic work in French, Kabyle, and Arabic, and especially the establishment of homes for orphans and deserted children. At present they have six of these homes for boys and girls in Algeria and Tunisia, containing in all some 150 children. Many of the boys and girls have taken a bold stand for Christ, and from these nurseries they expect to recruit evangelistic workers for the mission. In Algiers they have a great five-story building—a sort of community centre—with gymnasium, shower-baths, reading-room, restaurant, and cinema. At Sidi 'Aich, in the heart of Kabylia, on a fifty-acre plot, they are laying out an industrial and agricultural school. Similar work is carried on at Constantine and Tunis.

The Rev. Percy J. Smith is the leader, as Miss I. Lilias Trotter was the pioneer, in preparing literature for North Africa. There is a growing demand for Christian literature along all lines, especially in colloquial Arabic and French. Here would be the opportunity of a lifetime for some one of literary ability to use the French language for evangelizing the educated classes by means of the printed page and popular addresses.

The North Africa Mission and the Christian Missions in Many Lands work along the lines of personal evangelism, and the Plymouth Brethren who conduct their work are men of earnest faith and great devotion.

The Roman Catholic Church is also in evidence and their work is far from negligible. We were privileged to visit the central establishment of the Pères Blancs at Maison Carée, about ten miles from Algiers. In company with the Rev. E. F. Frease, D.D., of the Methodist Episcopal Mission, we spent an afternoon inspecting their schools, church, printing establishment, library and museum. From their published reports and monthly magazine, we gather that the work begun by Cardinal Lavigerie (who dealt a blow against the slave-trade) has developed until Roman Catholic missions extend from Algiers to Uganda. Their work has not been fruitful in permanent results among Moslems. Neither their methods nor their teaching appeal to the Kabyles and the Arabs.

As for missions in Morocco, there is not yet a single strong church society in the field. On the other hand, the total number of independent and semi-independent workers is considerable. In North Morocco, the North Africa Mission has two workers, single women, at Laraish, six at Tangier, seven at Tetuan. In South

Morocco, the Southern Morocco Mission, founded in 1888, headquarters at Glasgow, has twenty-one workers located at Marrakesh, Mazagan, Safi, and Mogador. The Gospel Mission Union of Kansas City has three or four workers at Kremisset and Meknes. If we add together all these workers, with a few of independent Jewish societies, the total is eighty. Fifty-eight of these are single women, and of necessity a considerable percentage of the whole force is annually absent from the field. There is no mission press in all Morocco and only one missionary hospital with full equipment, namely, the Tulloch Memorial Hospital at Tangier. No educational missions are carried on except ordinary day schools and kindergarten work. For the production and distribution of Christian literature there is the British and Foreign Bible Society and an agency of the Nile Mission Press.

South and east of Marrakesh the entire country is unoccupied. The great city of Fez, for example, has two women workers and one native convert. The Southern Morocco Mission has done noble pioneer work. Mr. Nairn, of that mission, although not a medical missionary, has a clinic open every day except Sundays, with about eighty patients daily. This type of medical work is winning Moslem hearts and should be greatly multiplied. But, generally speaking, the workers here are poorly supported, overworked, without cognizance of each other's plans, or programs, and too many of them are dependent on free-will gifts from societies or committees which themselves have no definite plans, but follow individualistic leading in the hearts of the workers. The three cities that are strategic and offer a wonderful opportunity are the capital cities of Fez, Rabat and Casa Blanca. Meknes is des-

tined to become a great railway and industrial centre and should also be occupied by a regular mission. If anyone would be convinced of splendid heroism and yet of the sore need of greater co-operation among the workers, let him visit Morocco.

One could not but admire the brave, patient, persistent self-denial of these lonely workers, all so faithful at their God-given task, doing the work of pioneers and blazing a trail for others to follow, but one longed for the day when a united front of all the forces would face the task.

There is now nothing to show for the splendid work done by Dr. Robert Kerr for twenty-five years—no hospital or dispensary—only a lonely grave at Casa Blanca.

The Southern Morocco Mission is well organized and with adequate reinforcements of men and means should be able to occupy the whole southwest. But the great central plateau, with the tribes eastward and northeast, offers a splendid opportunity for strategic advance if the present forces could unite in well-thought-out plans and were backed by strong support at home.

XII

ISLAM IN SOUTH AFRICA

IN Lady Duff Gordon's charming *Letters from the Cape* (1864) we find this telling picture of the Malay community in her day:

"I am just come from prayer at the Mosque in Chiappini Street, on the outskirts of the town. A most striking sight. A large room, like a county ball-room, with glass chandeliers, carpeted with common carpet, all but a space at the entrance, railed off for shoes; the Caaba (*sic*) and pulpit at one end; over the niche, a crescent painted; and over the entrance door a crescent, an Arabic inscription, and the royal arms of England! A fat, jolly Mollah looked amazed as I ascended the steps; but when I touched my forehead and said, 'Salaam Aleikoom,' he laughed and said, 'Salaam, Salaam, come in, come in.' The faithful poured in, all neatly dressed in their loose drab trousers, blue jackets, and red handkerchiefs on their heads; they left their wooden clogs in company with my shoes, and proceeded, as it appeared, to strip. Off went jackets, waistcoats and trousers, with the dexterity of a pantomime transformation; the red handkerchief was replaced by a white skull-cap, and a long large white shirt and full white drawers flowed around them. How it had all been stuffed into the trim jacket and trousers, one could not conceive. Gay sashes and scarfs were pulled out of a little bundle in a clean silk handkerchief, and a towel served as a prayer carpet. In a moment the whole scene was as Oriental as if the Hansom cab I had come in existed no more. Women suckled their children, and boys played among the clogs and shoes all the time, and I sat on the floor in a remote corner. The chanting was

very fine, and the whole ceremony very decorous and solemn. It lasted an hour; and then the little heaps of garments were put on, and the congregation dispersed, each man first laying a penny on a very curious little old Dutch-looking, heavy, iron-bound chest, which stood in the middle of the room."

The crescent and the cross are seen outlined to-day against the deep blue sky from minaret and steeple, not only in Cape Town but in Durban, Pretoria and Johannesburg. So strong has the Malay community grown that they held the " First Moslem Congress of South Africa " June 18th-20th, 1925, and crowded the great City Hall of Cape Town until it was transformed into a sea of red and black fezes which packed floor and galleries; and of such political importance was the gathering that the Minister of Education and the Minister of Labour were both present and took part in the discussions.

How did Islam reach Cape Town? How far does it extend? What is its character and influence in South Africa to-day?

In response to an invitation from the Foreign Mission Board of the Dutch Reformed Church and of the Committee of the General Missionary Conference of South Africa, I spent part of the summer investigating these questions. Arriving at the Cape on June 1st, 1925, I took a share in the closing meetings of the United Missionary Campaign under Dr. Donald Fraser's splendid leadership, attending the Natal Missionary Conference at Durban, the General Missionary Conference for South Africa at Johannesburg and the Triennial Student Conference at Pretoria. The carefully arranged itinerary, and the excellent railway facilities, not only of the Union but of the Rhodesian

and Trans-Zambesi lines, made it possible to crowd much into two brief months.

At the conferences and by correspondence we cast out the net of a questionnaire to gather information; in the mosques and schools Arabic was our passport, and every Moslem community received us with courtesy. This southernmost corner of the world of Islam is not without its own importance. It is on the border-marches that the destiny of the African continent lies in the balance.

South of the Great Lakes, or the thirteenth degree of latitude, the number of Moslems may be conservatively estimated as follows:

Cape Province	24,513	(Government Census 1921)
Natal	17,146	(Government Census 1921)
Transvaal	8,237	(Government Census 1921)
Orange Free State	141	(Government Census 1921)
Basutoland	102	(Government Census 1921)
Bechuanaland, Swaziland, Rhodesia	9,051	(Estimated)
Southwest Africa	1,000	(Estimated)
Portuguese E. Africa and N.W. Madagascar	150,000	(Based on Census and earlier estimates in *The Moslem World.*)
Nyasaland	73,000	(Government Census 1923)
Total	283,190	

In some cases these figures are too low. In the *Government Year Book for the Union* (1924), there is a map showing "The Distribution or Density of the

Asiatic and Mixed and other non-European population, *excluding* Bantu." From this map, where each dot represents 100 persons, as well as from personal observation, one would conclude that the number of Moslems in the Union is larger than the census figures. The government report speaks of the difficulty of drawing an accurate line between the borderland types of coloured persons and Bantu:

"To this fact was due the number of Bantu Mohammedans. A careful scrutiny of the schedules showed that a certain number of these individuals were Swahilis from Central and East Africa, who had either been passed by enumerators as Bantu or entered on Bantu schedules by the European householder employing them. In appearance often they are not unlike Bantu; but they are not true stock and are partly of Arab race. For census purposes they should, therefore, be classed within the group 'Mixed and other non-European.'"

Not without reason do they say at the Cape, "Islam is the coloured man's Church." In the Cape Province mosques and groups of Moslems are already found in about twenty towns and villages.[1]

Islam at the Cape dates back to 1654, when the Dutch East India Company determined to use it as a penal settlement, and as far as can be ascertained all of the early prisoners sent from Batavia were Moslems.

In 1713, when the great epidemic of smallpox broke out in this settlement, the number of convicts was 570. Two hundred of them died, but the remainder were

[1] Cape Town (chiefly in Bree Street and Hanover Street), Cradock, King William's Town, Strand, Stellenbosch, Paarl, Wellington, Wynberg, Plumstead, Claremont, Salt River, Simonstown, Mossel Bay, Piquetberg, Worcester, Walmer Estate, East London, Uitenhage, Kimberley and Port Elizabeth.

allowed liberty, marrying women from among the coloured population, who accepted Islam, and this community thus became the nucleus of Mohammedanism in South Africa. One exile, moreover, exercised so great an influence at the time of his banishment that his grave, adorned with a lofty minaret, has become the centre of pilgrimage for all South Africa. Sheikh Yusuf of Bantam, Java, was a spiritual leader of great sanctity, a nobleman of royal birth, a warrior of great and true patriotism, who undertook the commandership of the armies of the Sultan and fought to the verge of extermination for the independence of the kingdom of Bantam. Through treachery, he was induced to surrender to the Dutch in 1683. The Governor-General and Council of India considered it unsafe to detain this brave man in India, and so kept him a close prisoner on the Island of Ceylon till 1694, when he was transported to the Cape of Good Hope. He landed on these shores with a following of forty-nine souls in all. Land was provided for them near Stellenbosch, and on May 3rd, 1699, he died and was buried on the farm of the Dutch Reformed minister, the Rev. Petrus Kalden, at the Eerst River mouth, called Zandvlei.

Another name in the early history of Islam in South Africa is that of Abdullah Abdu-Salam, a later convict who, when he received his liberty, called the Moslems together, and instructed them in their faith. He knew the Arabic Koran by heart, and is said to have written out the whole of it from memory. This first copy of the Cape Koran is a treasured possession in the Moslem community. He died at the age of ninety-five, and many of the faithful visit his grave in Cape Town on Fridays and put oil on the tombstone which, although well kept, bears no inscription. His descendants be-

came prominent men in the Moslem community of South Africa. One of them is head of a derwish order.

In Natal, Islam entered from India about 1860, when large numbers of Indians, Hindu and Moslem, were imported as indentured labourers for the sugar plantations. Although at first they came for the sugar industry, their skill and enterprise opened up other avenues of employment. At present less than one-fourth are on sugar estates. Many are engaged in general farming work, on the railways, on tea estates, in coal mines or as domestic servants. They have their chief mosques and settlements in Durban (six to eight thousand), Pietermaritzburg, Dundee, Newcastle, Umzinto, Stanger, and Port Shepstone.

The railway employee, the small trader and the skilled artisan have carried Islam inland from the coast to the Transvaal and Rhodesia. There has also been an infiltration of Arabic and Swahili-speaking Moslems from Zanzibar and Mauritius—wherever the railway and mining industries have opened up new centres.

Pretoria has nearly fifteen hundred Moslems and supports three mosques; in Johannesburg, Rustenburg, Vrijburg, Bulawayo, Salisbury, Shamva, Umvuma and other mining centres there are considerable groups.

Islam first entered Portuguese East Africa and Nyasaland from the East Coast through Arab slave-traders in the eighteenth century. The Yao tribe, one of the largest and most vigorous, is mostly Moslem. Other tribes, like the Anguri, near Zomba, and the natives of Portuguese territory are also affected. With the Indian trader, who is found all over Southern Nyasaland and Portuguese territory, Islam is steadily gaining ground everywhere. Beira and Lourenco Marquez have several fine mosques. At Caia, Port

Herald, Limbe, Blantyre, Zomba, and Fort Johnson, Islam has gained a strong foothold. A British official at Fort Johnson, who is in close touch with village life, said Islam was undoubtedly and rapidly spreading.[2]

Islam south of the Lakes is polyglot, although Arabic is used everywhere in the mosques for worship and taught in the village schools. In the Cape Province Afrikaans and English are chiefly used, although I found, even in a greengrocer's shop on Bree Street, well-thumbed books in Urdu, Persian and Arabic. In Natal the Moslems speak Urdu, Gujerati, Tamil, Sindhi or English. The same is true of Portuguese East Africa, although here and for Nyasaland we must add Swahili and Yao. At Tapani I spoke in Arabic to a large village crowd of Moslems, and my interpreter into Yao had never left his home country, but acquired Arabic from his father. He understood the simple classical perfectly. In the mosques I generally carried on my conversation in Arabic. Many whom I met had been to Mecca or to Cairo.

Economic and social conditions naturally vary over so wide an area and among people of such mixed origin, yet the trade-mark of Islam is visible everywhere in dress, bearing, customs, salutations and an *esprit de corps* which is unmistakable. The red fez or tarboosh distinguishes the Moslem at the Cape and in Natal. One regrets, therefore, its adoption as the headdress

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[2] The last Government Census gives these figures for Nyasaland:

Total number of Christians	103,001
Total number of Pagans	1,023,918
Total number of Mohammedans	73,015

The latter are chiefly in Zomba, Dedza, Fort Johnson and Blantyre districts. Special village centres are Mponda's Kotakota, Korunda, Tamballa, Tapani and Bomba.

of " boys " in hotels and in government service or for the King's African Rifles in Nyasaland. The latter are not exclusively Moslem troops. Circumcision is universal. The food laws and the entire ritual on purity are observed as carefully as in any part of the Moslem world. The women generally are still unveiled and have considerable freedom, but in Cape Town the veil has recently been introduced by the ever increasing numbers of pilgrims returning from Mecca, and these leaders are advocating greater seclusion. Polygamy is practised and publicly defended. Divorce is very common. At Cape Town conditions prevail to which attention has been called in two novels (*The Lure of Islam,* Miss Prowse, London; and *Beware of the Purdah,* Mrs. Olga Peruk, Cape Town). Both books are based on fact and tell how white girls are lured away to marry Malays and Indians.

The subject is referred to in the report of the Archbishop's Missionary Commission (Cape Town, 1924) as follows:

" It cannot be denied that in the course of years many hundreds, and more particularly of young women, have lapsed from the Christian faith to Mohammedanism. In giving evidence, one experienced worker said she believed that as high a proportion as fifty per cent. of Mohammedan women visited in her district were lapsed Christians, the children of lapsed Christians or born of Christian parents and adopted in childhood by Mohammedans. Adult perversion, as it would appear, commonly begins with immorality as judged from the Christian standpoint, and not with religious conviction. Perverts for the most part are young women (very often domestic servants) who form attachments with men who, for the occasion, discard the fez and assume a Christian name, but who subsequently, and when

a moral lapse has occurred, acknowledge adherence to the Mohammedan faith."

The records of St. Monica's (Rescue) Home, Cape Town, also tell the story of how fallen women with their tiny infants are tempted away. Testimony of this nature could be multiplied, but the situation is delicate and the Moslem press at Cape Town furiously resents reference to the subject. The books mentioned have been suppressed.

Something might be said on the other side. The Moslem's social consciousness is strengthened, and oftentimes justly aggravated by the race relations that obtain in South Africa. The native press boldly proclaims its policy to secure the supremacy of the coloured race through Islamic brotherhood. Socially, Moslems at the Cape are recognized by the Government as coloured people distinct from the native Bantus, and there is now a bill before Parliament to put them on the same footing as Europeans. They have the franchise in the Cape but not in the other provinces. At the Cape they are engaged as tailors, masons, builders, carpenters, grocers, fruiterers and cab drivers, and along the coast as fishermen. Many of them own their houses and earn good wages. Their women are among the best laundry workers and factory hands and they seem to be well treated by their husbands. They have large households of children, and are seen in public, in the streets, mostly unveiled.

The Moslems of South Africa belong almost exclusively to the orthodox or Sunni sect. There are a few Shiahs from India, however, and at Pretoria these have a mosque. Most of the Cape Malays belong to the Shafa'ite school, following in this their original leaders

who came from Java. The Moslems of Nyasaland are also Shafa'ites, although among them and elsewhere the Indians are Hanifites. The new Islam is represented by a few Ahmadiyas, whose literature (from Woking and Lahore) we found in a number of places.

The derwish or mystic brotherhoods are found chiefly at Cape Town, where *zawias* exist for several of the orders. In *The Moslem Outlook* (Cape Town, February 20th, 1925) we find an account of the annual festival of the *Chistiya* order held at Thornhill, Cape Town. The following orders exist: *Qadariya,* at Cape Town, Durban, Pretoria, Beira, Zomba, Mponda, Caia; *Rifa'iya,* at Cape Town, Stellenbosch, Mafeking; *Naqshabandiya,* at Cape Town, Durban, Port Elizabeth, Beira, Bulawayo and in Nyasaland; *Chistiya,* at Cape Town and Fort Johnson; *Shathaliya,* at Cape Town and Johannesburg. When one remembers the influence of these orders in the history of Islam and their appeal to the negro mind, by rhythmic dancing, barbaric music and loud ritual, one is not surprised at the strength of Islam.

Photographs were given me of derwish dances at Fort Johnson on the occasion of a *Mawlid,* which might have been taken at Tanta or Damanhur in Egypt.

The mystic orders are in close touch with Mecca, Cairo, Bombay and Constantinople, as is evident from their literature, the lithographs that adorned homes and mosques and the reports of " distinguished visitors " in the Moslem press of Cape Town.

Other organizations exist. Letters to the press in Johannesburg were signed by the " Hon. General Secretary of the Transvaal Islamic Congress." Receipts

were posted in several mosques, of money received by the "Caliphate Committee in Bombay for relief to the Moplahs and the Riffs." A meeting was held at Cape Town to elect delegates to the Cairo Caliphate Congress.

The Moslem periodical press is of recent origin. Its most active organ, *The Moslem Outlook* (weekly), was first issued January 30th, 1925. It announces itself as "The mouthpiece of the Moslem community in South Africa," and already has a circulation of six thousand. Its pages reveal the character and activity of Islam and its growing self-consciousness and self-confidence. Other English papers that more or less represent Islamic or nationalistic thought are *The Cape Indian,* in English and Gujerati, Durban; *The African Chronicle* (Vol. XVIII), Durban, "A journal of political, social and literary matter circulated all over the Union of South Africa and India" (political); *Indian Opinion* (Vol. XXIII),, in English and Gujerati, Durban, edited by Mahatma Gandhi's son; *The African Voice* (Vol. III, 1925), Cape Town. The last named is a "paper for the people" in English and Bantu "to propagate the interests of non-Europeans throughout the African continent," and is printed at the Moslem press in Hanover Street. So also is the new paper, *The African World,* in English and Bantu, which bears on its title page, "Africa for the Africans, Europe for the Europeans." Moslem newspapers from India and Egypt also find readers. I noticed especially *Al Minar* from Cairo; *Din,* a Gujerati Moslem paper, and *Al Sufi,* in Urdu, from Lahore. Knowing there is a distinct revival of Arabic study, I was yet surprised to find four hundred children studying this language in one school at Cape Town, to see in the library of an

imam Howell's Arabic-English Grammar in eight volumes, and to receive a faultless epistle in Arabic from a villager near Zomba. The other literature used by Moslems in the Union, in Natal and in Nyasaland, is mostly imported.

The usual religious classics in Arabic, Urdu and Persian deck the shelves of the *imams* or are found at the tombs of saints and in mosques. Arabic Korans or portions printed in Cairo or in Bombay; Bukhari; Beidhawi; the *wirds* of the derwish ritual; Tha'alabi's story of the prophets; the popular treatise on eschatology called Daqa'iq-ul-Akhbar; very simple Arabic grammars—these are found everywhere. In Cape Town there are larger collections, including the works of the mystics. A series of little books in Afrikaans is also published at the Cape—some in Roman character and others in Arabic script, lithographed. (It was strange to read a description of Mohammed's paradise in dialect Dutch.) Catechisms and Koran sections in Afrikaans,[3] Swahili manuals, Yao primers in Arabic character, Tamil and Marathi books of devotion, and a Zulu catechism, recently put on the press at Durban—these were some of our discoveries. We were also told of a school, opened at Bulwer, near Durban, to train natives in Islam. The leaders in this Arabic revival are returned pilgrims from Mecca or wandering schoolmasters. I met one such at Beira, born in Yemen, educated in Egypt, who had visited Buffalo, N. Y., and after being *Imam* in Durban now teaches Arabic to Indian lads in Mozambique. Johannesburg has one or two Beirut *mullahs,* and at Zomba there is an Arabic teacher for their new mosque school.

[3] *Cf.* "Two Cape Town Catechisms," in *The Moslem World,* October, 1925.

In the Cape Province conditions are more or less static. This is not the case, however, further north and in Portuguese territory.

Will Islam there continue to penetrate southwards among other tribes and win them like the Yao? Or is the native church strong enough and united enough to hold its ground and win the remaining three million pagans before they are Islamized? The Rev. Ernest W. Riggs, of the American Board, after his recent visit to the East Coast, writes:

"Mohammedanism is permeating Natal and Portuguese East Africa by slow methods of infiltration. Indian traders, largely Moslem, have opened small stores all along the coast region. These Indian traders, inured to the sub-tropical climate, quickly establish themselves where no Europeans find it possible to live. Frequently coming as young unmarried men, they marry one or more natives and, together with the children which come rapidly, quite a Moslem community results. One of the Portuguese administrators in an isolated region of the Mozambique Company's territory informed us that the influence of these traders was so strong that the natives no longer kept pigs, as these animals were offensive to the Mohammedan religion."

Fifteen years or more ago Maurice S. Evans, in his book, *Black and White in South East Africa,* called attention to the situation:

"Some of those who are watching the signs of the times in Africa predict that before long the religion of Islam, moving gradually from the north to the south, will find a seed-bed ready among the Abantu (Bantu) of the south; and think that in this will be supplied the cohesive element which will bind together all tribes and groups of the people. They point out that there is much in the religion of Mo-

hammed that will appeal to and satisfy the race characteristics and desires of the Abantu. Much more unlikely things have happened. The Mahometans now resident in South-east Africa are aliens from Asia, and the only connection between them and the natives has been one of trade—no attempt, as far as I know, has been made to proselyte. But Africa is opening fast, and in centres like Johannesburg and Durban are men representing many cultures and religions, and in the break-up of the old many gaps are left for the entrance of the new" (Pp. 111-112).

Much water has flowed down the Zambezi since these words were written, and yet the situation would not be alarming if the missionary societies on the field were really grappling with it. But this is not the case. Excellent work is being done at Cape Town by a few men and women of the Anglican and of the Dutch Reformed Churches, but none have received special training and there is a lamentable dearth of suitable Christian literature. The native church is ignorant of Islam and, so far as we could learn, there is no missionary, Roman Catholic or Protestant, south of the Lakes able to read Arabic.

It is not a question of greater numbers, but of better distribution. In Swaziland, with a population of 112,051, there are sixteen societies at work! The setting apart and training of workers is the only true policy. Islam is regarded as a peril instead of an opportunity, and the native church will continue timid until the missions furnish trained leadership. The *Rand Daily Mail* summed up the situation in a remarkable editorial, already quoted in Chapter IX. Tribute was paid to the work of missionary education, and the recent findings of the Phelps-Stokes Commission "as unanimous and increasingly emphatic in the recom-

mendation of the influence of religion in the education of the native peoples" were heartily endorsed. The whole sentiment of the best leaders of the white race in South Africa favours the spread of Christian missions among the Bantu peoples as the solvent of race difficulties. They desire to apply the principles of brotherhood that is Christian rather than risk any Islamic movement of fanatic character.

The Moslems of South Africa are accessible and live in the midst of Christian communities. They are approachable and responsive to kindness in a remarkable degree. Many of them are strangers in a strange land and hungry for friendship. All of them have felt the galling yoke of race prejudice and race hatreds, but they realize that this is not the spirit of Christianity, for Christ knows no "colour bar." To win the Moslems to His allegiance would be a long step forward in the solution of the black and white problem in South Africa.

XIII

JAVA AND THE DUTCH EAST INDIES

EDWARD BOK recently wrote an article under the title, "Well, I Didn't Know That," in which he exposed the prevailing ignorance concerning the great Dutch island empire in the tropics. During the war days a British captain in charge of a cruiser in the Red Sea challenged a Dutch liner, calling out through his speaking-trumpet: "From whence and where?" The Dutch captain, of Falstaffian proportions as well as sense of humour, replied, "From the tight little island of Java, bound for Amsterdam." When the British captain replied, "Where, under the sun, is Java?" the Dutchman (who knew hotel life in New York), called back, "Boy, page Java."

These Dutch possessions in the East Indies comprise an immense island empire 683,000 square miles in area, with a population of 49,161,000. As the population of Java alone exceeds 35,000,000, it is the most important of the entire group of islands and forms a mission field by itself. The island lies five degrees south of the equator, and it has a tropical climate with a mean annual temperature of about seventy-eight degrees. The coldest month is January, and the hottest, October. The wettest station in Java has an annual rainfall of 327 inches, while the driest has thirty-five inches. Bahrein, Arabia, has annually only two and one-half inches of rainfall. The mountain system in Java affords variety of climate and wonderful beauty

THE MAHMAL OR ORNAMENTAL CAMEL-LITTER

Embroidered with texts from the Koran, this Mahmal accompanies the caravan to Mecca which carries an annual gift, as well as the Ka'aba curtain, called the *Kiswa*.

TWO TRAVELLING DERWISHES FROM THE SUDAN

One derwish wears special charms made of goat hoofs, to drive away demons. The other has a musical instrument ornamented with charms of other descriptions. These men are called on to exorcise demons.

of scenery, with tropical verdure to the summit and great rice fields stretching to the shore. Java has 125 volcanoes, fourteen of which are active.

The vast population is divided by race and language into three groups: Javanese, who number about two-thirds of the total; Sundanese, one-sixth, and Madurese, who number 5,000,000, or about one-tenth, chiefly on the Island of Madura.

The agricultural and mineral wealth of Java is proverbial. The rice harvest alone amounts in a single year to 6,000,000 tons. In addition, they produce coffee, tea, spices, quinine, tobacco, sugar, cotton and indigo. One-third of the rubber of the world is now produced in the Dutch East Indies, and seven-eighths of the quinine. Among the most important minerals is petroleum, but coal, copper, tin, silver, and gold are also found.

The whole island of Java is knit together by admirable roads and railways. There are over 3,500 miles of first-class roads and 11,000 second- and third-class, which are far superior to the average road in America. Eighteen hundred miles of railway and 1,300 miles of steam trams unite East and West Java, not to speak of 15,000 miles of telegraph lines and telephone system. The leading cities are Batavia (250,000), which is the centre of government; Soerabaya (160,000), and Semarang.

The Dutch first entered the East Indies in 1598. In 1602 the Dutch East India Company was established, and in 1619 Batavia was founded. In 1811 Java was captured by the British and remained in their power until 1816, when by treaty East India was restored to the Dutch. After a number of wars with the Javanese, gradually a system of overlordship was established

which lasted from 1830 until 1860. Then a famous novel by Decker, entitled, *Max Havelaar,* fell like a bomb in the Netherlands and compelled a readjustment of the whole system of government; having much the same effect as the publication of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in America. The charges in the book were never refuted, but abuses were gradually diminished and finally the whole system of exploitation was abandoned. A recent writer states:

"Though *Max Havelaar* was presented in the form of fiction, its incidents were founded on facts, and it formed a severe indictment of the policy pursued for two and a half centuries by the Dutch in the management of their East Indian possessions. It proved to the satisfaction at any rate of a large section of the Dutch nation, that the Home Government, whilst ordering humanitarian rule on paper, in reality connived at slavery. Theoretically, the Javanese peasant was a free man; in practice he was a chattel. The Dutch had found ready to hand in the East what they did not find in the West Indies, in America, or in the Cape of Good Hope, a huge labouring population, or rather, a huge population that could be forced to labour. This being so, there was no necessity for them to found real colonies; and the Dutch East Indies, according to Decker, were not colonies in the true sense of the word, but mere money-making concerns."

At present free labour is universal, and the Dutch policy is that of benevolent paternalism without any sign of oppression. The French traveller, Cabaton, whose book is perhaps the best we have on Java, speaks very highly of the Dutch colonial system. A more recent book by Torchiana, entitled *Tropical Holland,* gives an account of present-day conditions, which

compare favourably with the colonies of France and Britain.

In Java we may study comparative religion on a large scale and may trace the layers of the different religious conquests in the language, the art, the civilization, and the public religious life of the people. The soil was Animistic. Very early, about the first century of the Christian era, however, Hindu and Buddhist influences were established. All the remains of Javanese architecture, their national theatre and their weird music, can be traced to Hindu and Buddhist influence.

The political power of Hinduism held till the middle of the fifteenth century. The island of Bali, still wholly Buddhist, is a great unoccupied mission field. Nineteen-twentieths of the population of the East Indian Islands is Mohammedan, and although Islam here may seem superficial when compared with North Africa, it is thoroughly established and has all the vital elements of the older Islam. Yet the Javanese are very proud of the period of Hindu-Buddhist culture, which is considered the golden age of their civilization, when Europe was still in mediæval darkness.

Islam began its conquest, under Sheikh Abdullah Arif and Jehan Shah; it did not continue to develop culture, but deadened its vitality. Art and architecture declined, as did manners and morals. In 1507 the King of Atjeh, in Northern Sumatra, embraced the Moslem faith, while Ibn Batuta makes mention of a Moslem ruler in Sumatra as early as 1345. A certain Arab named Rahmat, who styled himself an apostle, began to preach and win converts, and built the first mosque in Java. After the conversion of the chief, Raden Ratah, proselytes became more numerous, force

was used to extend the Moslem state, the capital fell into their hands and Islam was practically triumphant in 1478 A. D. Nine apostles or missionaries were sent out to convert the remainder of the people.

Before the end of that century the King of Ternate, in the Moluccas, was converted, "and Islam was spread in the Spice Islands by Javanese traders who came there for the double purpose of procuring cloves and imparting Islam." Arnold, quoting from a German writer, tells how these merchant missionaries carried on their propaganda in a way that won the whole Malay Archipelago. "The better to introduce their religion into the country," he says, "the Mohammedans adopted the language and many of the customs of the natives, married their women, purchased slaves, in order to increase their personal importance, and succeeded finally in incorporating themselves among the chiefs, who held the foremost rank in the state." In 1803 some Sumatra pilgrims, who had become followers of the Wahhabi movement in Arabia, returned from Mecca to proclaim a holy war against all infidels, first the heathen Battak tribes and afterwards the Dutch rulers. A seventeen-year war followed; but the propaganda did not cease even when the Dutch Government took the last stronghold of the Zealots. Today Java is one of the vital centres in the world of Islam, as is indicated by the number of pilgrims from the Dutch East Indies to Mecca, shown by government returns:

Moslem Year	*Christian Year*	*Dutch East Indies Pilgrims*	*Total Pilgrims at Mecca*
1329	1911-12	24,025	83,749
1330	1912-13	18,353	83,295

Moslem Year	*Christian Year*	*Dutch East Indies Pilgrims*	*Total Pilgrims at Mecca*
1331	1913-14	26,321	96,924
1332	1914-15	28,427	56,855
1333	1915	pilgrimage stopped	.....
1334	1916	pilgrimage stopped	.....
1335	1917	72	8,585
1336	1918	48	7,020
1337	1919	1,093	22,131
1338	1920	14,786	59,370
1339	1921	28,878	60,786

Elementary education, established in 1848, is now carried on by government schools and private schools. Compared with the Philippines, the educational program in the Dutch East Indies is very backward in its extent, although modern in its content and Dutch in its thoroughness. Illiteracy still prevails among ninety-five per cent. of the population, and less than 900,000 pupils are provided with instruction, the amount spent for education annually being less than 80,000 pounds sterling.

More than one hundred Moslem newspapers are published in the Dutch East Indies. The titles of some of these are significant: *Light of Sumatra, Young Java, Young Sumatra, Light of India, Light of Minahassa, Light of Islam, The Revival of Islam, Agreement and Disagreement* (the first in the list of Moslem religious papers), *The Arena of Islam,* etc. Their variety and number, in the present time of depression and general crisis in the newspaper world, surely are proof that Islam is awake.

Some of the papers are frankly reactionary and advocate a return to the old Islam, but the majority are progressive and desire reform, educational and ethical.

The contents of a single number of the *Tjahaja-Islam* are typical. This paper is a diglot in Malay-Javanese. The advertisements, with one exception, relate to Moslem schools, booksellers and eating-houses. In the issue for November 5, 1921, after an editorial (which closes with a threefold Amen), the leading article is on Islam and Democracy. Then follow an appeal for money to open a new Moslem school, a poem calling for the better observance of the five prayer periods, a proposal to unify the Moslem press, and a reply by the editor, who says that three small papers reach a larger circle than one large one! The Javanese section has similar matter and in addition a Koran exposition with references to Thomas Carlyle.

According to the last census there were 11,942 schools with a total of 846,326 pupils, not counting the higher training institutions for engineering, commerce, medicine, and law. At the meeting of the Zendings Bond at Djokja, in August last, where missionaries of all Java were in council, it was estimated that the total of literates for Java was as follows: One million who read Malay, one and one-half million who read Javanese, 400,000 Sundanese readers, and 200,000 Madurese readers. The Roman character is slowly (some say rapidly) displacing the Arabic character in Malay (even in Javanese). Dutch is becoming more known among all educated Javanese.

The Nederlandsch Zendeling Genootschap, the earliest of the Christian missionary societies, was founded in 1797. In 1858, because of the wave of rationalism which swept through Holland, many of the evangelical party seceded and organized other societies, each with its own doctrinal basis. To-day, sixteen societies work on the island of Java and have 456 missionaries in the

Dutch East Indies. The methods followed are practically the same as in other mission fields with the exception of the establishment of Christian villages by the development of land and virgin forest under grant of the Dutch Government. By this method the Dutch missionaries were able to protect their converts and give them educational advantages in a centre of social and spiritual life. *The result is that there are now 37,526 converts from Islam in Java, and 8,000 in the other islands, making a grand total of 45,526.* We bow before the grace of God, who has given life to the seed and a harvest to the faithful sowers in these isles that waited so long for His law.

Dr. B. J. Esser, in his book, *God's Guiding Hand in Missions* (Dutch edition), mentions the following co-operating factors in missions in Java:

1. The Javanese people, who number one-half of the total population of the Dutch East Indies, have one language and one civilization.
2. Every part of the field is accessible by rail and roadway.
3. The hospitable, docile and polite character of the people guarantee the safety of person and property; especially the educated Javanese who are the leaders and accessible through the press and through the Dutch language.
4. All medical work has the guarantee of liberal subsidy on the part of the Government. This is also the case for all schools where the Dutch language is taught.
5. The Javanese Bible translation is excellent and cheap.
6. The beginnings of educational literature by the Government and the missions, as well as distinctly Christian literature, offer many advantages.
7. There is an educational and social revival manifesting itself in the organization of Societies Boedi-Oetomo, Sarakat-Islam, etc.

8. The Christian congregations which exist are centres of evangelism.

Missions in Java are remarkable: (1) In the large results secured among an almost wholly Moslem population, and these results were secured not by superficial methods, but by the most thorough requirements for baptism. (2) In the preparation of Christian literature, including Bible translations, where the psychology of the people was taken into consideration, as perhaps on no other field. The Javanese mind was thoroughly known before presenting the message, and therefore it received acceptance. (3) In spite of the many societies engaged in the work in one single field, the laws of comity have been strictly observed, and there is an increasing spirit of co-operation between the missions, especially in the production and distribution of Christian literature.

From this rapid survey of conditions in Java, the largest and most important of the Dutch East Indies group of islands, we turn to Sumatra, next in size and importance—a wide island world by itself with great variety of scenery and inhabitants.

One of the great promises of the Old Testament states that the "isles shall wait for his law." If the word "wait" in this promise includes the ideas of delay, expectation, and fulfilment, then the word has its full significance in the history of Christian missions. The islands of the Mediterranean waited long, but expected and received the Gospel. So the islands of the South Seas waited long to hear the message. In no other island of the world has, perhaps, this promise of Isaiah been so signally fulfilled as in the Island of Sumatra. If anyone doubts the present-day power of

the Gospel, let him visit this mission field and see the evidences of God's grace among the Bataks or on the islands of Nias fringing the west coast of Sumatra. Within a single generation, the Gospel has been able to win hundreds of thousands from heathen darkness to Christian light and life. Sumatra is one of the least known mission fields, and yet one of the most fruitful in results. It was my privilege to visit this island in the summer of 1922 and to learn at first hand regarding the conditions and the results of missionary effort.

One must understand something of the geography of the island to appreciate the intensity of the threefold struggle between Christianity, Islam, and Animistic Heathenism. Sumatra affords a rare opportunity for the comparative study of religions, and in this field, at least, one can speak with truth of the progress and *arrest* of Islam amid dying heathenism and of the future victory of the Cross.

Sumatra lies on the Equator, which divides it into two nearly equal parts. Its total area is 184,000 square miles. It is about 1,000 miles in length and 250 miles wide. The government divides the island into two sections—the West Coast, with Achin, and seven residences along the East Coast and neighbouring islands. High mountain chains skirt the whole of the west coast, while the east consists of flat alluvial country. Earthquakes are frequent, as the whole range is topped with a line of volcanoes, several of which are active. Forests crown the mountains, and the whole island is extremely fertile. The climate is tropical, and the rainfall is spread over the whole year, some places having a record of 190 inches—a flood of fifteen feet!

Although the island is three times the size of Java, its population is not more than one-sixth, the total

approaching 6,000,000. Only seven towns have a population of over 5,000. The largest are: Palembang, 61,000; Pedang, 50,000; and Sibolga, 20,000.

The chief peoples of Sumatra belong to two groups—Indonesians and Malays. There is no great physical difference between them, and they all approximate to the Malay type. The chief groups are the following: Achinese, North Sumatra; Bataks, around Lake Toba; Malays, on the east coast; Lembongs, on the west coast; and Lampongs, in their own central district. The last named have a considerable mixture of Javanese blood. Of foreigners there are about 10,000 Europeans, 225,000 Chinese, and nearly 5,000 Arabs. A variety of languages and scripts are used by the different peoples. Malay is the language of trade and of the officials and of Islam. Bible translations exist in most of the languages, but in many of them this work is still needed, and only a Gospel or a few portions are available.

First visited by the Dutch in 1596, a treaty was concluded in 1662, and, after a struggle with the British, who retired in 1824, Sumatra was conquered by the Dutch. The process of conquest lasted from 1825 until 1907. The chief point of conflict was northern Sumatra, where the Achinese, fearing Dutch aggression, secretly sought protection in turn from the United States, Italy, France, and Turkey, through the consuls at Singapore. The Dutch demanded an explanation of these secret negotiations; and, this being evaded, war was declared on the Achinese in March, 1873, and dragged on in one form or another, with heavy cost of blood and treasure, until December, 1907, when the Sultan surrendered and was deported to Amboina. Then, to celebrate their victory and the peace, the

Dutch constructed a great mosque at Koota-Radja, which is the finest piece of architecture in all Sumatra, but even this concession did not win over the affection of the people. The mosque to-day is scarcely used by the faithful. Nominally, the peoples of Sumatra are to-day nearly all Mohammedans, except a large proportion of the Bataks, and the bulk of the inhabitants of the islands off the west coast, who are pagans. There are still large areas in the interior where the Dutch rule is merely nominal, but the country is fast becoming pacified, and it may be expected that the population will rapidly increase when immigration from Java is encouraged.

Not until 1912 was a beginning made in the introduction of national education. By the end of 1914, 681 national schools had been established in Sumatra with approximately 41,000 pupils. The total number of private schools at the same date was given as 840, with 65,000 pupils. These figures are an eloquent testimony to the fact that Christian missions were the pioneers in national education.

The development of Sumatra has been delayed by the absence of good roads. There is no highway from north to south, but a good road has been completed from Sibolga across to Medan. Altogether about 4,000 kilometers of good roads are found, and 1,000 more are under construction. Along these roads there is automobile service. A state railway connects Padang with Ft. De Kock, and there are narrow-gauge roads on the east coast and in the north. At present, the lack of a railway through the length of the island, or even across from Palembang to Padang, is a serious handicap to missions, as well as to commercial development. The vast forests, high mountain ranges, and the low,

irregular coast line, make all railway construction exceedingly difficult. It is only a matter of time, however, and soon the whole of this marvellously rich and fertile country will be open to exploitation and evangelization—a race between the best and the worst of Western nations.

The agricultural wealth of Sumatra includes the products of the palm, rubber, tobacco, tea, coffee, copra. The total number of cocoanut palms, according to the government estimates, is 14,500,000; 500,000 acres are planted with coffee; the rubber industry has developed enormously within two decades. In 1919, 30,000 tons of rubber were exported from the east coast alone. Tobacco is grown more extensively in Sumatra and of higher quality than in any other part of the world. Medan is the centre of the tobacco market of the world, and exports about 60,000,000 pounds annually. The steamer on which we sailed from Medan, in 1922, carried a half-million sterling in tobacco leaves. A tax of one-tenth of a cent per pound placed on this one export would abundantly pay for the evangelization of the island. Gold, copper, but especially petroleum and tin, are among the undeveloped riches of Sumatra. Tin mining is the chief industry of the islands of Banka and Billiton.

The standard work on missions in Sumatra from the standpoint of the struggle between Islam, Animism and Christianity, is that by Gottfried Simon. We would strongly recommend this book for careful study. The author has had eleven years' experience, and he sketches the social and religious condition, first of the pagans, then the changes that take place when they become Moslem, and finally the process by which these Mohammedans turn to Christianity. Islam is not a

schoolmaster to lead the pagan races to Christ. The pagan who becomes a Moslem also becomes a fanatic in his opposition to Christianity, and shows at once the strength and weakness of Islam over against the Gospel when Christian missions begin their work. The author leaves no doubt as regards his attitude toward Islam. It is one of uncompromising adherence to the vital truths of Christianity which makes the impact of these two religions necessarily a death-struggle. He shows the urgency and the possibility of winning over the pagan races in Malaysia and Africa before the advent of Islam, but makes clear no less that the struggle against Islam itself is not hopeless, but if carried on in the spirit of the Gospel, is sure to bring results.

But the spirit of the Gospel, according to Gottfried Simon, is not the spirit of compromise, or that of dealing in superficialities. The impact of Christianity on Islam, especially in the Animistic world, means a death-struggle. If any feel disposed to let the idea of a strenuous fight drop out of our Christian life and vocabulary, let them read this volume. During my visit we found unanimity in the testimony of all missionaries in Java and Sumatra that "Islam can never be a bridge over the gulf that separates the heathen from Christianity, nor bring them nearer to God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ."

In enumerating the factors that play their part in turning the heathen to Islam, Simon notes the policy of the colonial government, which is always that of neutrality, often degenerating into favouritism. The native officials, the official language, the government school, the new highways of communication and commerce—all co-operate to drive the pagan into the fold

of Islam. The fear of spirits, the desire for mediators, and the superstitious dread of a written charm are supplied in the Moslem Koran.

"It is therefore not only a case of Islam conniving at heathen proclivities," Simon says, "but of an inner connection being actually established between Animism and Islam. Islam itself is imbued with Animistic molecules which attract kindred elements in heathenism. Its inherent syncretism gives it the power of assimilating what is even apparently heterogenous in other peoples. Its syncretic elasticity make it possible for Islam to be a world religion.

"Hence within Islam Animism does not play the part of a barely tolerated slave, rather it receives royal favour! The despised cult of Animistic magic receives in Islam the rank of a divine institution. It is the gift of God to His faithful believers."

And again, as he points out:

"Animism is a foe which must be refused all quarter. In not doing so, Islam is bound to suffer absolute defeat itself at the hands of its hypocritical opponent.

"Many customs are doubtless forgotten; sacrifices are soon things of the past. Many prayer formulas, many names of spirits and ancestors are lost, but what an impregnable position magic gains in the new religion by entrenching itself behind the new conception of God. How many possible ways the heathen-Mohammedan finds of satisfying his Animistic cravings in his daily religious exercises—and, above, all, in the vagaries of mysticism."

Another important factor is the pilgrimage to Mecca. Pilgrims, on their return, occupy a high position among the population and become apostles. The journey to Mecca is not so much a penance for a poor sinner as

a spring-board by which any venturesome rogue may leap into a lucrative profession. The money invested for the journey brings a large return when the *Hadji* sets up as a propagandist and religious leader.

One may see in every village of north Sumatra the process in all its stages: Heathen becoming Moslems, and Moslems becoming Christian. The Mohammedan Christian has a great conflict before him—he faces a double line of battle. He must fight against the old Animism and also against Islam. The triumph of the Gospel in such an environment is a proof of its power. The faith of these Christians is great because it risks everything. The missionaries in their method have refused all compromise. In some respects they are even radical in their attitude toward Islam. It is the miracle of God's grace manifested through human love that has won its way. Not only does Jesus appear greater than Mohammed, but rather, as Simon says: "A new God, the Father of Jesus Christ, who is one with the Son, takes the place of Allah in the Moslem heart." "It is not merely a question of correcting the Mohammedan conception of God. That is a hopeless task; the idea is too distorted. An entirely new conception is formed in the mind of the Mohammedan. The very name of God scarcely remains the same. Among the Bataks, we revert to the old vernacular name for God and once more eliminate the Arabic Allah. The soul finds the living God Himself in Jesus."

The method of preaching in Sumatra is fearless. No Mohammedan can become a Christian, they say, unless he is persuaded that Mohammed is a false prophet. "The aim of our preaching," says Simon, "is to make the Mohammedan realize who Jesus is; then his faith

in Mohammed spontaneously breaks down. He must become assured of a twofold fact: that Christians really have another Jesus from the Jesus of Islam, and that Mohammed is not what he himself claims to be, nor what the teachers say he is."

Into this great arena of present-day conflict, it was our privilege to enter for a brief fortnight and to see for ourselves the power of the Gospel among pagans and Moslems in Sumatra. After getting into close touch with the missions in Java, orientation was less difficult and everywhere, especially on the part of our German brethren of the Rhenish Mission, we were heartily welcomed and most hospitably received. And for these workers to be hospitable means sacrifice. Think of the war period and the post-war disappearance of the mark.

After preaching in the Willemskerk at Weltevreden on Sunday, August 20, 1922, to a congregation whose organization dates back to 1619, I visited the Rhenish Mission post opened in Padang in connection with their work on the island of Nias. The recent revival there has resulted in a large accession of heathen to the Church of Christ. The present number of converts on that island alone is 46,759, and in one year they had over 2,000 adult baptisms, with 24,866 under instruction.

Padang has a population of 90,000, and with its harbour town, Emmashaven, is the future metropolis for west Sumatra. A railway has been opened to Fort De Kock, eighty-seven kilometers distant, through highlands whose rich and varied scenery is among the finest in all Sumatra.

At Padang we visited the Arab quarter and found, as everywhere, the productions of the Cairo Moslem

PAST AND PRESENT IN AFRICA

The old arena at Carthage. Here the Christians fought wild beasts. At present there is here a subterranean chapel for prayer and meditation. The Memorial Cross is seen in the centre of the picture.

A MODERN MOSQUE IN DURBAN, NATAL

This mosque is near the centre of the Moslem settlement and is used for school purposes as well as for worship.

MOSQUE OF SIDI BOU MEDINE, TLEMCEN, ALGERIA

The square minaret is typical of North African Islam. To the right one can see the fountain for ablution.

Press on sale. Portraits of Mustapha Kemal and other Turkish heroes adorned private dwellings and shops. The Pan-Islamic spirit found expression even in the labels on match-boxes made in Sweden, which pictured the Radja of Stamboul as head of Islam! I met a friendly *Hadji,* one of the leading Moslems, who received me cordially and spoke fluent Arabic. He is a progressive Liberal, has organized a school for boys and girls under a committee which, assisted by the Government, has put up a building costing 80,000 guilders. Two Dutch schoolmistresses are employed in addition to the teachers of Arabic and Malay. Four hundred pupils attend in the morning, and nearly four hundred others in the afternoon. I was invited to address the school, and spoke on the " Principles of Civilization " and the " Ethics of Jesus Christ." This school is coeducational.

On Friday, August 25th, our steamer arrived at Sibolga. This port is 200 miles beyond Padang, and nearly 800 miles from Batavia. The Rhenish mission house and church are beautifully located just outside the city of Sibolga. When we arrived, a confirmation class was in session, and during our stay we learned something of the struggle in this part of Sumatra between Islam and Christianity for the pagan tribes. The story of the conflict, its character and its results, have been told by Simon in his well-known book, already quoted.

On August 26th, we left by government auto for Sipirok, a distance of 127 kilometres. On this short distance we passed many villages, each having a church as well as a mosque. The station at Sipirok is one of the oldest of the Rhenish Mission. They now count 5,000 Christians in this one group of churches.

The preparation given catechumens for baptism is very thorough. Islam is still active in its opposition and sometimes defiant. But the missionaries are not discouraged. On Sunday morning we went to Boenga-Bandar to attend the annual mission fest. The church was crowded and the free-will offering good. We met a group of Moslems that evening. The following day we visited the great leper colony at Situmba with Mr. and Mrs. Link. The next day I visited Pargareotan and the work of the Java committee. There two missionaries are doing good work, but they are isolated ecclesiastically from their brethren of the Rhenish Mission, so that this little station seems like an island of Dutch work in the midst of the Rhenish field. Via Simatorkas, we returned to Sibolgas in a Ford car filled with a half dozen passengers.

The Moslems of Sibolga are in close touch with Mecca. We spoke with a number of *Hadjis,* and saw Cairo newspapers in their shops.

On September 1st we left for Pearadja, following the new highway built by the government and crossing the great mountain range with its marvellous beauty of scenery before one enters the tableland surrounding picturesque Lake Toba. A short distance from the main highway, and near Pearadja, is the monument erected to the two American missionaries, Munson and Lyman, pioneers of the American Board who were killed and eaten by cannibals in 1834. I secured a photograph of the monument with its simple inscription: John 16:1-3 (and then in Battak), "The Blood of Martyrs is the Seed of the Church." The first Batak convert, Jacobus, is still living. He was baptized in 1861. To-day there are over 216,000 Batak Christians. What hath God wrought!

Dr. Johannes Warneck met me on my arrival and the days of fellowship with him were memorable. We had a conference of all the workers at the station; I visited their theological seminary and training school and preached in the great church which seats 1,500 people. The progress of the work among the Bataks has been almost too rapid and the results too great for the strength of the workers. The church will need time and the missionaries patience for the full development of the work. It is hard to pass from the stone age to the twentieth century in one generation; from fibre thread and thorn needles to the use of the Singer sewing machine; from the wax dip to electric lights; from being the son of a cannibal chief to becoming a chauffeur of a Christian missionary. Yet such are the facts in spite of the laws of evolution.

Two Christian papers are published at Sipohoan, where also the theological school and seminary are located. On September 5, Dr. Warneck accompanying me, we visited Lagoeboeti and Balige, with its large industrial school for boys and girls. The large leper asylum, Hoeta Salem, with 500 inmates, is a wonderful testimony to faith and enterprise. Missionary K. Lotz and his family welcomed us at their home at Sianter. There also we met Mr. Oechsli, of the Methodist Episcopal Mission, which has a very promising Chinese work here. A large meeting was held in the evening and we spoke to the congregation, through an interpreter, on evangelizing their Moslem neighbours.

On September 6th, after bidding farewell to Dr. Warneck, we took the train for Medan. A full program of meetings had been arranged, including a public address at the Hotel Medan, an address before the Moslem Society Boedo Oetomo in Arabic, two ad-

dresses in English for the Methodist Mission in their church, a sermon in the Reformed Church in Dutch, and closing with a conference on September 12th, held in the Hervormde Kerk for all the Christian workers of the city. Twenty-five were present. After discussion of the occupation of Sumatra, it was found that the total number of missionaries in the whole island was as follows: Dutch Clergy, 3; Dutch Baptist Society, 1; Java Committee, 2; Rhenish Mission, 45; Methodist Episcopal Mission, 8; Nederlands Zendeling Genootschap, 4; Salvation Army, 10; American Adventist, 6; a total of 79. It was arranged to appoint a small committee to encourage closer co-operation, especially in prayer and for the production and distribution of literature for Moslems and native Christians.

Only seventy-nine foreign workers for the whole of this great field, where the harvest is dead ripe and so many rich sheaves have been garnered! "And the isles shall wait for his law." How long? If anyone doubts the power of the Gospel, its miracle-working power to-day, let him go to Sumatra.[1]

[1] The statistics of the missions in the Dutch East Indies in 1922, are as follows:

Name of Society	*Entrance*	*Field*	*Converts*
Nederlandsch Zendeling Genootschap	1797	Java East and Celebes.	25,310
Nederlandsch Zendings Vereeniging	1858	Java West	3,386
Utrechteche Zendings Vereeniging	1859	New Guinea, etc.	18,157
Gereformeerde Zendings Vereeniging	1858	Middle Java	3,718
Zending der Geref, Kerken	1892	Middle Java	.....
Gereformeerde Zendings Bond	1910	Celebes	.....
The Rhenish Mission	1828	Sumatra, Nias	337,213
Sangi Talaud Committee.	1887	Sangi Islands	88,351
Doopszezinde Zending	1847	North Java	3,000

Name of Society	*Entrance*	*Field*	*Converts*
Het Java Comite.....	1854	Sumatra, East Java....	3,677
De Salatiga Zending.....	1882	Central Java	1,927
The Lutheran Mission....	1852	Batoe Islands	1,000
The Salvation Army.....	1894	Bandoeng, Java, Celebes	.....
Ned. Bijbel Genootschap.	1814	Whole field	.....
British and For. Bible Society	1804	Whole field	.....
Meth. Episcopal Mission..	1905	Biutenzorg and Soerabia, Java	1,289
Seventh Day Adventist...	1908	Java and Borneo	400
Roman Catholic Mission..	1808	Java, Sumatra and New Guinea	38,530

Native missions of the Dutch East India churches, church members	425,958
Native missions in Minahassa, Ambon and Timor, (Est.) church members	500,000
Total native Protestant Christians in the Dutch East Indies	925,958

XIV

PERSIA AND SHIAH ISLAM

PERSIA, a land of over ten million people, a land with great economic resources and an area of more than six hundred thousand square miles, and a people akin to those of Europe in language, culture and ideals, is to-day facing a new future. In our public libraries you will find the record of her glorious past and inglorious decline. Archæologists can tell of the monuments that portray her ancient greatness and imperial conquests. Statesmen have traced her history and tried to fathom the reason why a nation once the mistress of all Western Asia should have become, after Islam had done its work, the least and most backward people of the Near East. Lord Curzon's monograph tells of the decline and fall of the Persian Empire. Morgan Shuster pointed out that, even in the present century, the hand of imperialism tried "the strangling of Persia." But the national spirit only revived after the World War; struggled for constitutional freedom; found a leader and girt him with a sword; put a crown on his head and now, under Shah Riza Khan Pahlevi, faces a new future. What Mr. Morgan Shuster failed to accomplish became "the American Task" under Dr. Millspaugh, who, as a wizard in finance, is admirably succeeding in untangling the economic mesh and setting a nation on its feet again. Both books are a good introduction to a study of the new conditions that prevail.

Under the new government the highways are not only safe from robbers, but are being made safe for motor cars. The new Shah is a man of energy with capacity for hard work and bold leadership. He is not skilled in letters, but can read men and apparently can read something of the future. To solve the urgent economic problem—namely, better roads and communications—a monopoly tax on tea and sugar (the two essentials of Persian luxury) has been introduced, and all the proceeds, estimated at a million sterling, have been ear-marked for railway construction. At present Persia has only one short railway from Tabriz to the shores of Lake Urumia and on to the Russian border. But events are moving fast. The London *Daily Telegraph* recently contained an article on the problem of railway communications in Persia, summarized as follows:

" The first line to be constructed will be one to unite the Persian Gulf with the Caspian. On the Caspian the terminus will be near Asterabad, and on the Persian Gulf the port of Mohammerah. By this line goods discharged at the Gulf port will reach Ispahan and Teheran in a day or two, while at present they take about two months to reach the capital from Bushire. The Persian Government seeks to escape from the economic control imposed by its present use of Basra and Bagdad.

" Here Russian interests seem to be in accord with Persian interests. On the one hand, the creation of such a trans-Persian line would be a useful complement to the Trans-Caucasian, the Julfa-Tauris, and the Trans-Caspian systems. On the other hand, the Moscow Government would not like to see a line constructed across Persia from Khanikan to Meshed or Douzbab, since then a considerable part of the traffic between Europe and the Middle and Far

East would pass out of its control. The north-south line would meet the peculiar needs of Russo-Persian trade, while the traffic between Asia and Russia or between Asia and Western Europe would have the two lines—in the north the Trans-Siberian and in the south the Persian addition to the Caucasian and Caspian systems.

"Such a line added to the existing lines would assure Russia a formidable commercial advantage. No doubt the advantage would not be only economic, but the Western Powers might find that the new position presented many inconveniences. All the schemes formulated so far by Britain, France, or Germany agree in this, that they make an east-west line the main line in a Persian system, and they differ only on the points where the line shall enter and leave Persian territory."

It is not, however, for these political and economic signs of dawn that we call your attention to the horizon. There are better tokens of a new day. Persia faces a new religious future, and it is bright as the promises of God. This ancient Bible land, with all its memories, which holds so large a place in the Scriptures and where one may still visit the grave of Esther and Mordecai, or read the inscriptions of Darius, is to-day an ideal mission field—a door of hope in the world of Islam, an example of comity and co-operation and Christian unity on the part of all the missions without rival. Like other Moslem lands, Persia is a difficult field, one that appeals to the heroic and that tries men's souls; but one hundred years after the first efforts made at Urumia, the whole land to-day seems white unto harvest. Others have laboured and the present small force of one hundred and sixty-two missionaries have entered into their labours. No other Moslem land offers a larger opportunity for all lines of missionary

effort. The new Shah is a man of energy with a capacity for hard work and bold leadership. The economic progress of the country, though beset with many difficulties, is assured. We concur in the judgment of the editor of *The Near East* that, " if the life of the new Shah is spared and if the pomp and circumstance of monarchy exercise no harmful influence on his character and energy, Persia may yet take her stand at the head of the nations of the Middle East."

It was our rare privilege to witness the joy of harvest and to see marvellous evidence of the power of the Gospel in winning Moslem hearts during our visit in 1926. Mrs. Zwemer and I left Cairo for Bagdad by the overland desert convey on May 4th, and returned from Bagdad to Cairo in a little over twenty-four hours in the same way on August 12th. Between these dates we travelled four thousand one hundred and eighty-four miles on Persian soil, visiting every mission station except Meshed, Shiraz, and Seistan. Conferences were held with the missionaries and Persian Christians in succession at the following places: Kermanshah, Hamadan, Tabriz, Urumia, Resht, Teheran, Isfahan, Yezd and Kerman. One whole week was given to a general conference at Teheran (August 1st to 8th), which was attended by representatives from every mission station and by Christian leaders representing the Armenian and Nestorian groups, as well as converts from Islam.

In addition to these conferences, public meetings were arranged by the missionaries for Moslems, Parsees, Christians—for students at the colleges in Teheran and Isfahan—and, best of all, those inimitable Persian garden parties where one could meet converts individually and see the new joy of Christ shining in

their faces. In some places we witnessed public baptisms, at Kermanshah, at Teheran and at Isfahan. Never shall we forget that memorable Sunday, July 4th, when twenty-two adults bravely uttered their Declaration of Independence from Islam and all its bondage. One by one these Moslems, twelve men and ten women, were solemnly baptized, taking their vows before a large audience in St. Luke's Church, of which the greater part were themselves Moslem converts.

The details of our long and difficult itinerary would not be of interest. There were rare adventures indeed over roads that can only be described as atrocious, mile after mile. We had an Indian chauffeur and a Buick car most of the way, but not always could either have been truthfully described as Christian in their conduct. The Buick car, however, after its many mishaps, got safely back in good repair to the Church Missionary Society College in Isfahan and the chauffeur by the long road of repentance, after a grievous fall and two attempts at suicide, safely to his Father's home. Our journals also tell of the gracious hospitality, the good fellowship, the glad welcome and the spiritual uplift we received at every station.

More important than the details of such a journey are the impressions received while in close contact with missionaries and Persian Christians, with government officials and Moslems of every class from the turbaned *mujtahid* at Tabriz to the children of the carpet factories in Kirman.

One of our first and lasting impressions was that of the strategic importance of Persia. This land is the keystone of the arch of that vast temple, the Dar-ul-Islam, reared during thirteen centuries, stretching from Sierra Leone to Shanghai and sheltering under a com-

mon faith the Moors of Morocco and the Moros of Mindanao. Geographically, and indeed historically, Persia lies at the centre of the Moslem world and has for centuries exerted no mean influence, through language, literature and art on her neighbours. Westward stretch Arabia, Syria, Palestine and North Africa; eastward Mohammedan Central Asia, with its old centres Bokhara, Samarkand, Tashkent, and the Chinese Provinces of Kansu and Yunnan; southward Afghanistan and the seventy million Moslems of India; northward the Moslems of Russia in the Crimea and the steppes. In a recent lithograph a Persian artist depicts his country as a woman reclining on the waters of the Gulf and leaning on the broad shoulders of the erect figure of His Majesty Reza Shah Pahlavi. The sun's light shines upon the national hero, who is ready with drawn sword to defend the motherland. In the background are Cyprus, Zoroaster and other great figures of the past; but there is no Islamic prophet or symbol in the whole picture. This is significant. Educated Persians are now saying that their national greatness was pre-Islamic and that the Arab invasion was the arrest and not the development of their civilization.

Very early in the Christian era the Gospel entered Persia and the great persecution under Shapur II proves how widespread was its acceptance by 339 A. D. At times there was toleration and again we read of reactionary repression. Once there were bishoprics in Ray and Herat, two bishops in Gilan and one each in Azerbaijan, Yezd, Kerman, Isfahan and in Shiraz. Even now, after centuries of Moslem domination, Christian remnants remain. The beautiful Armenian Church at Julfa, dating from the sixteenth century, and the ruined churches of the Nestorians at Urumia

are mute but eloquent witnesses. The Aryan blood of Persia has often shown itself not only by friendly toleration of other creeds, but by revolt against the Semitic orthodoxy of Arabia from the first century of Islam to our own day.

Persia has been the mother of heresies. The Shiahs by race and culture and philosophy became the nonconformists of Islam. They therefore form a problem within a problem. At first a political sect through the claim of Ali and his followers to the headship of the Moslem state, the belief gradually arose that in the house of Ali there was a particle of divinity and that this supernatural endowment passed on from generation to generation. Hence the doctrine of the Imams and the passionate devotion to the Twelve, an apostolic succession of divinely endowed leaders. The origin and development of Shiah doctrine has only recently received special attention. Earlier writers—Kramer, Dozy, and Muller—traced its rise to the influence of old Persian thought. Wellhausen, however, suggested that the Shiahs owe their peculiar teaching to Jewish sources, and Friedlander worked out the theory according to which the Jew, Abdullah ibn Saad, was the real founder of the Shiah faith. Professor R. Strothmann has contributed much to a clearer understanding of the subject, especially in his latest work.[1] The sects and subdivisions of the Shiah world are many. Schism was of its very nature. The Ahl-i-Haqq, the Babis and the Bahais are examples. Each offers special points of contact with, and of contrast to, Christianity and therefore special opportunity as well as special difficulty for the missionary.

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[1] *Die Zwolfer-Schia* (Harrasowitz-Leipzig, 1926).

The influence of all this Persian heresy has extended far beyond the boundaries of Persia. Regarding the present extent, number and distribution of Shiahs throughout the world we have no accurate statistics. In India they are found chiefly in the provinces of Oudh, Cawnpore, Faizabad, Lucknow, Kathiowar, Bombay and Travancore. One of the extreme Shiah sects is that of the Khojas in Bombay and Sindh, a merchant class, originally a Persian Ismailiya sect expelled from Persia. Their chief Imam is Ja'afar es Sadig. They are the remnant of the original " Assasins " (Hashshish eaters). Their spiritual head is Agha-Khan of Persia. The total number of Shiahs in India is about two million. In Iraq there are about two million Shiahs, and in Persia between eight and nine million. This would give a total of less than fifteen million for all Islam.

All are agreed that the central conception of the Shiah faith is the doctrine of the Imam. The number of the Imams among the orthodox Shiahs is twelve.[2] There have been two great schisms in the succession of the Imams, the first upon the death of Ali Zainu'l-

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[2] 1. Ali, the son-in-law of the prophet.
2. Al-Hassan, the son of Ali.
3. Al-Husain, the second son of Ali.
4. Ali, sur-named Zainu'l-abidin, the son of Al-Husain.
5. Mohammad al-Baqir, the son of Zainu'l-abidin.
6. Ja'far as-Sadiq, son of Mohammed al-Baqir.
7. Musa al-Kazim, son of Ja'far.
8. Ar-Reza, son of Musa.
9. Mohammad at-Taqison of Ar-Reza.
10. Ali an-Naqi, son of Mohammad at-Taqi.
11. Al-Hassan al-'Askari, son of Ali an-Naqi.
12. Muhammed, son of Al-Hassan al-'Askari, or the Imam al-Mahdi, who disappeared A. H. 365 and is supposed by the Shiahs to be still alive, though he has withdrawn for a time, and to again appear in the last days as the Mahdi or " Director," before the day of judgment.

abidin, when part of the sect adhered to his son Zaid, the founder of the Zaidiyih sect. And the second on the death of as-Sadiq, when his father nominated his second son, Musa al-Kazim, as his successor instead of allowing the Khalifate to go in Isma'il's family; those who adhered to Isma'il's family being called Isma'iliyah. The great body of the Shiahs acknowledge Musa al-Kazim and his descendants as the true Imams. In addition to these well-known divisions, there are many other Shiah sects and parties in Persia.

The ethics of Shiah Islam are lower than those of orthodox Sunni teaching in at least three particulars: They indulge in the practice of "*Taqia,*" that is, religious deception; they justify the practice of "*muta'a,*" that is, temporary marriage, as a cloak for adultery; and their interpretation of Surah 2:222 is grossly sensual and contrary to Sunni teaching. We had an interview with three *mujtahids* at Kirman on the first subject. They all justified religious dissimulation, and one of them gave us a book written by himself on the subject and attempting to prove that the practice was taught and indulged in by Abraham, David, Moses, and Jesus, as well as by Mohammed. This teaching has undermined honesty and sincerity and enormously increased the difficulty of public confession on the part of converts, while hindering trustfulness on the part of the missionaries. One of them writes:

"*Taqiah* is well-nigh as common as tea-drinking. One practical result is that it has very largely annihilated sincerity in religious discussion. According to this teaching, one is not supposed to tell the truth in religious matters. It is a virtue, rather than a fault, to conceal one's real opinions. The missionary talks with a group of men who strenuously

defend the Shi'ah position and profess to be strict Moslems. Subsequently he discovers that not one of them is a Shi'ah. They enjoyed hearing the missionary talk, and incidentally learned something about America and Europe, and they pleased the missionary by listening to him politely. But they were insincere from beginning to end. A teacher talks with a pupil. The latter listens with eyes, ears and mouth wide open, and eventually professes a faith in Christ. Later it is discovered that the sole purpose of the pupil was, if possible, to get a little better grade in his classes with that teacher."

The other two special points of Shiah ethics are too unsavory for discussion. They have dragged the marriage relation down to depths of promiscuity and bestiality that are unmentionable, but prevalent even in the sacred cities of Meshed and Kerbela.

On the other hand, there are points of contact in Shiah Islam of special value in presenting the Gospel. The Persians are not naturally fanatic; they are the most courteous and gentle of the races in the Near East.

Their hope of a Mahdi may be used to lead to the coming Mahdi Jesus. In the words of Beidhawi: "There is no Mahdi but Isa."

The Shiahs believe in atoning blood, and therefore the feast of Moharram, with all its dreadful ritual, can be used to point to the Lamb of God.

The "appearances" and theophanic dignity attributed to Ali and his sons afford close resemblances to the doctrine of the incarnation and show the heart-hunger for a mediator. The doctrine of incarnation is not offensive to them.

The Shiah teaching concerning ritual purity with all its careful details can often be used to direct the mind to the real doctrine of purity of heart.

Most of all we find that there has been a *præparatio evangelio* in Persia. No one who knows Persian literature can doubt it. Jalal-ud-Din Rumi, Al Ghazali, Mansur-al-Hallaj (who was tortured and crucified at Bagdad), and many others have borne witness to the character and life of Christ. The first-named in one of his poems refers to Jesus as the breath of life:

"Thyself reckon dead, and then thou shalt fly
Free, free, from the prison of earth to the sky!
Spring may come, but on granite will grow no green thing:
It was barren in winter, 'tis barren in spring;
And granite man's heart is, till grace intervene,
And, crushing it, clothe the long barren with green.
When the fresh breath of Jesus shall touch the heart's core,
It will live, it will breathe, it will blossom once more."

In another poem he gives a beautiful account of Christ healing the sick:

"The house of 'Isa was the banquet of men of heart
Ho! afflicted one quit not this door!
From all sides the people ever thronged
Many blind and lame and halt and afflicted
To the door of 'Isa at dawn
That with His breath He might heal their ailments. . . .[8]

Al Ghazali, the great mystic and theologian, was born and died in Persia. He is claimed by the Shiahs as their own, and his books are widely read. Miquel Asin has pointed out that in one of his writings this seeker after God "confessed the whole of the teaching of the Christian faith, apart from two points of doctrine, to be infallible truth." He quotes Al Ghazali as saying: "Should someone say to thee 'Say that there is but one God and that Jesus is His Prophet' thy mind would instinctively reject the statement as being proper to a Christian only. But that would be because

[8] *Masnavi-iManavi,* Whinfield's Translation, p. 116.

A MOHAMMEDAN FUNERAL AT TLEMCEN, ALGERIA

The religious leaders who chant the creed or passages from the Koran precede the bier, which is always carried on men's shoulders.

ONE OF A SCORE OF MOSQUES IN CAPETOWN

These mosques are generally wedged between buildings and so would escape notice by the traveller except for their minarets with the crescent sign of Islam.

thou hast not sufficient understanding to grasp that the statement in itself is true *and that no reproach can be made to the Christian for this article of his faith nor for any of the other articles,* save only those two—that God is the third of three and that Mohammed is not a prophet of God. *Apart from these two, all the other articles of the Christian faith are true."* [4]

What impression does one gain after a careful study of conditions and opportunities in this hopeful Moslem field?

I. *Occupation.* The Cross is in the field. No one doubts it and no one is ashamed of it. The work of evangelization has the right of way in mission policy. Education without evangelism is not dreamed of by anyone in Persia. In the absence of any census figures, the population of Persia, with its vast area of 600,000 square miles, has been variously estimated. Some put it as high as twelve, others as low as eight millions. The total number of Protestant missionaries is one hundred and sixty-two—a wholly inadequate force for so large a task. The field is in some parts well occupied and the forces well distributed. On the other hand, the missions are convinced that "Large sections of this field remain absolutely untouched as yet or reached only by occasional itineration or colportage work. Such are the Moghan and Talesh districts near the Russian border, the province of Khamseh, most of Kurdistan, all of Luristan, Khuzistan, with its growing importance as an oil centre, Mazanderan, with about half a million people in a comparatively small area, the districts of Demghan and Shahrud, along the Teheran-Meshed road, the districts

[4] *Al Qistas,* p. 60, Cairo, 1900; *cf.* Asin's *La Mystique d'al-Gazzali,* pp. 67-104, and his *Islam and the Divine Comedy,* p. 81.

of Asterabad, Bujnurd and Kuchan, along the Turkestan border, and the whole southern line from Mohammerah to the Beluchistan border with its seaport towns. In addition to these are large nomadic tribes scattered all over Persia, comprising over a million souls. And beyond the eastern border lies Afghanistan, with its estimated population of 4,000,000, as yet unopen to the spread of the Gospel, yet more closely related to Persia than to any other country through the wide use of the Persian language and ultimately to be occupied, at least in part, from Persia."

The All-Persian Conference recorded in their findings that unless the present staff is increased new societies should be invited to occupy these districts. The outlook is most hopeful. It was the unanimous judgment of the conference that " to secure a reasonable occupation of Persia we believe that four new stations should be established: namely, at Zanjan, to reach the 1,200 villages of the Khamseh district; at Barfurush, to reach the populous province of Mazanderan; and at Bushire, to reach the ports along the southern coast. In addition to this, a small force will be necessary to allow medico-evangelistic work through permanent residence among the largest nomadic tribes; and the stations near the Afghan border should be strengthened to permit speedy occupation of that country whenever possible. We believe that if the existing stations be adequately manned and these new stations be opened and properly staffed, the missionary force in Persia in co-operation with the Persian church should be able under God to evangelize the whole country."

To evangelize the whole country—that is the practical issue,—to evangelize the whole country now open

and responsive before new and sinister forces exert greater power. Bolshevism is bidding for the heart of young Persia. At Resht and Tabriz and Teheran we saw Soviet schools where atheism and communism are taught to lads and lasses whose parents still repeat "There is no God but Allah."

II. *Co-operation.* Over the platform in the college hall at Teheran, where our conference met, was a large map of Persia showing the mission stations as "little candles burning in the night" and over it the words, "All One in Christ Jesus." The old line drawn on the map to mark the division of the Church Missionary Society field from that of the American Presbyterians in north and northwest Persia was still there. But it became only a historic landmark when in the fervour of love and perfect understanding the slogan was, "There is no thirty-fourth parallel." There is none on the map of the new Christian Church and none in the hearts of missionaries. Bishop Linton is large-hearted enough to open his bishopric to Presbyterians and his horizon includes all Persia. The American "bishops" are eager for the closest co-operation, through organization, exchange of information, and close spiritual fellowship. It was a creative hour when the finding was adopted:

"We rejoice in and return thanks to God for the fine spirit of unity and harmony that now exists among the Christian forces in Persia, and it is our conviction that we should use every endeavour to keep the unity of the Spirit. We believe that there should be one undivided Church of Christ in Persia, and that it is a paramount privilege and duty of us all to work for the founding and growth of such a Persian Church. We commend the effort of the Hamadan Interchurch Conference of 1925 to set on foot plans for

bringing together this church into closer organization by the establishment of a commission to study the subject and draw up plans to this end; and we urge upon all missionaries and Persian Christians to engage in earnest and united prayer during the coming year for God to lead this commission to lay the wisest foundations for the future unity of the Church of Christ in Persia."

No wonder that the missions prosper when they can claim the promise of Psalm 133 as they can in Persia. We were not surprised that the plans were made for an Inter-Mission Committee, for an All-Persian Medical Missionary Association with a general annual report, and for a united program of Christian education and training.

III. *Literature.* In this respect Persian missions are still backward and have much to learn from other fields. In the presentation of the Message the appeal through " eye-gate " has been unaccountably neglected. No one can overestimate the work done by the pioneers in this task—Pfander, Tisdall, Potter, Rice and others, but their books have been more widely used outside of Persia than within. Both in the preparation and the distribution of Christian literature (except the Bible, which has been widely circulated) the missions are not keeping pace with the Moslem, or Behai, or Bolshevist press. There are over ninety-three different newspapers and magazines now in circulation.[5] Some of these are well illustrated and come from a large native Persian press at Berlin. Tabriz and Teheran have scores of Moslem bookshops where every kind of literature, even such as anti-Christian, in Arabic, Persian and French, is on sale.

[5] For a complete list, see *The Moslem World,* January, 1927, pp. 86-87.

Persians resident abroad exert increasing influence on their motherland. The Iranschahr Press at Berlin, the Persian journals of Cairo and the leading Persian newspaper, *Habl-ul-Matin,* of Calcutta, afford an index of the extent and character of these contacts with the world. For example, the Iranschahr Press has agents everywhere; in Kerman we found regular subscribers to one of their magazines; their series of biographies of great men includes not only Tolstoi and Lenin, but Abraham Lincoln. The title page of such a popular biography as the last named provokes thought. Under the Persian title and sub-title we read " Abraham Lincoln sa vie et son oeuvre par Mohamed," and then " Orientalischer Zeitschriftenverlag Iranschahr Berlin-Wilmersdorf Augustastrasse 1;" while the bibliography and the dozen illustrations savour delightfully of the Middle West. Only the ferment of a new nationalism could bring together such a motley collection of literature on every conceivable subject as we found in he book-bazaars of Tabriz, Teheran, and Resht. Bolshevism, too, is actively at work through its press and its schools in Persia. The Babi-Behai movement fully understands the secrets of propaganda and of secret propaganda, but is waning to-day in Persia. The missions are behind hand. There is no Persian Christian paper except a small monthly magazine for women published at Teheran.

The missions expressed to us their great need for more tracts, booklets, stories, biographies, primers on ethics, home-life, hygiene, commentaries on the Bible, and they are looking to America for help. With adequate financial backing and the setting apart of workers for literary effort the nearly organized Intermission Literature Committee, with headquarters at Teheran,

faces a unique opportunity. The Persian language area stretches far beyond the political boundaries of Iran into Afghanistan, India and Russian territory. The Persian Church faces the future and needs immediately a shelf of Christian books, including more and a wider variety than the present meagre list of tracts and controversial pamphlets. Who will give the Persians an illustrated Bible dictionary, a concordance, a life of Jesus Christ, a history of the early martyrs and missionaries? How can we expect the church to grow in grace when we prevent growth in knowledge? I know of no need in the mission field that is more pressing than that of Persian Christian literature. *All* the existing Christian literature in this language piled up is thirteen inches high and can be bought for $7.50.

IV. *Liberty.* We found few restrictions in Persia and many evidences of a liberal spirit and a love for freedom. It is true, on the one hand, that the clerical party, that is the *mullahs* and *mujtahids,* who are landowners and capitalists, are making a fresh bid for power. Religious fanaticism is not dead but sleeping. In a recent outbreak at Jahrum, south of Shiraz, half a dozen Bahai were murdered in the streets. Muharram celebrations, such as we witnessed at Isfahan, are a constant danger signal. At present religious liberty is not proclaimed as enacted law. Islam is technically the state religion, and the *mullahs* are still jealous of their former power and prestige. But there is far more freedom in Persia than in Turkey, and there is an awakened desire for liberty in the hearts of all the people. It may also be said that the *mullahs* now are "on trek" and have folded their tents to find new pasture for their flocks. Those who have tasted of

the new education refuse the old fodder of ignorant fanaticism and childish superstition. While at Semnan, on the way to Meshed, where our car broke down, we had opportunity to converse with Moslems of every type. This is the city where the late Mr. Esselstyn preached in the mosque and his life and words are still remembered. In a gathering of big-turbaned leaders they themselves suggested that we should discuss the question, "Why Mohammed is *not* the apostle of God." Such freedom of speech was typical of other occasions. The freedom taken by the press in Persia has been so startling and precocious that one is not surprised at its present limitations. The Word of God has for many decades had free course and been widely read by Persians. It is quoted in their popular poems. Persian art depicts Christ and Mary and favourite scenes from the Gospel. One Persian woman in Resht, after embroidering a portrait of Lenin and of the new Shah, asked for Hoffman's picture of Jesus in order to prove her love as well as her marvellous skill.

Dissatisfaction with the old Islam, especially its low ethical standards and ideals, is not only increasing but is freely, sometimes even loudly, expressed. Cartoons and caricatures in the comic press make a butt of the *mullahs* and their ways. Many of those who have received secondary education have inwardly broken with Islam and broken finally, although they have not yet accepted the Christ. One of them said that real progress was impossible for Persia until the religion of Arabia ceased to be the religion of the state. Another declared, "Our country has had three things imposed on us from without by the Arabs: a foreign government, a foreign language and a foreign religion. We

have long been rid of the first, we are ridding ourselves of the second by purifying our language, but have not yet got rid of the third."

"To get rid of religion"—that is also the program of the emissaries from Moscow. Persia faces two futures. Before her is a future full of hope and joy and peace if she accepts again the Christ of God whose Church once had widespread dominion in her borders. Once there were bishoprics in Ray and Herat, Gilan, Yezd, Kerman and Isfahan and Shiraz; now only remnants remain of this ancient heritage. But if Persia turns away from Christ because His message and life is not speedily and adequately presented to her widely scattered population—if schools and hospitals, colporteurs and evangelists—find no entrance into the great unoccupied centres—who will be to blame? Persia faces the future. Dare we face the Christ unless we do all we can for Persia, and do it now?

XV

ISLAM IN RUSSIA

MOHAMMED the Prophet was doubtless ignorant of geography as well as of the future of his religion, or he would not have spoken of the rampart of Gog and Magog, built by Alexander the Great (Dhu-al-Qarnain), which divided Russia from Asia, and which men are able neither to scale nor dig through.

In Surah 18, verses 93-97, we read:

"They said, 'O Alexander, Gog and Magog, waste this land. Shall we then pay tribute on condition that thou build a rampart between us and them?'

"He said, 'Bring me blocks of iron until it fill the space between the mountain-sides. Ply,' said he, 'your bellows,' until when he had made it roar with heat he said, 'Bring me molten brass that I may pour it in,' and Gog and Magog were not able to scale it, neither were they able to dig through it. 'This,' said he, 'is mercy from my Lord.'"

The Moslem commentaries leave no doubt that this great wall exists between Turkestan and Russia and is intended to shut off the nations of the north from those of the south. How the legend arose is very uncertain.[1]

[1] "In reopening the question of the Wall of Gog and Magog, Mr. Wilson finds himself strongly opposed to the view put forward by de Goeje and generally accepted by Orientalists, that the legend arose out of vague reports of the Great Wall of China. That the land of Gog and Magog was at all times rather a vague conception, and that with the advance in Moslem knowledge of

To-day, beyond the ramparts of Alexander there are no less than seventeen million followers of Mohammed. There are more Moslems in Russia than in Egypt or Arabia or Persia. While we hear much of the Russian Jew, who forms only 3.55 per cent. of the population, little is heard of the Moslem, who forms 9.47 per cent.

Mohammedans are found all the way from Leningrad to the steppes of Siberia, and from Tobolsk on the Obi River to Bokhara, and from there southward to the Persian and Afghanistan frontiers. The chief centres of Mohammedanism were given in the careful statistics gathered some fifteen years ago by Madame Sophy Bobrovnikoff.[2]

1. Kirguises		4,886,946
2. Tatars		3,737,627
3. Usbeks	726,534	
Sarts	968,655	1,976,546
Turkomans	281,357	
4. Bashkirs		1,439,136
5. Tshetshents, Avares, and other Caucasian Tribes		819,576
6. Tates and Tadjiks		445,453
7. Tjoorks		208,822
8. Kabardeens and Abkhazes		170,672
9. Kumyks and Nogaits		147,488
		13,832,266

Central Asia and Siberia it was pushed further to the northeast, cannot be denied; but most critics will probably consider Mr. Wilson has gone too far east when he concludes that the Arabic geographers placed the Wall in Trans-Baikalia. It is highly improbable that Idrisi or any other pre-Mongol geographer had at all clear ideas of any but the south and southeast fringes of Siberia."—*The Moslem World,* Vol. XV, pp. 408-409.

[2] *The Moslem World,* Vol. I, No. 1. The article is accompanied by two excellent maps showing the distribution of the Moslem population for each province.

Although the distribution remains in this proportion, the total is larger to-day—one estimate puts it at nearly 17,000,000.

By far the largest number of the Mohammedans in the Russian Soviet Republics belong to the orthodox or Sunni sect, while in the Asiatic provinces there may be 100,000 Shiahs. The various derwish orders are strong in the metropolitan centres, while until recently the annual visit to Mecca of hundreds of Russian pilgrims bound the uttermost confines of northern Islam to its centre. The literature of the press in Cairo, the Pan-Islamic spirit of Constantinople, and the fanatic devotion of the derwish who travelled to Mecca exerted their influence in Tobolsk and the villages of the steppes, as well as at Samarkand and Bokhara, during the past century.

Islam spread to Central Asia from Persia. As early as 666 A. D., it had reached Balkh, and in 674 A. D. the Saracens attacked Bokhara. The conquest was not an easy one, and the invaders were repulsed. In 704 Kuteiba, the Arab conqueror, appeared on the scene and advanced as far as Turfan on the extreme eastern border of eastern Turkestan, imposing Islam as he went. We read that Bokhara was conquered and converted three times, only to revolt and relapse until the strongest measures were taken to establish the new religion.[3] Every Bokharist, Vambery tells us, had to share his dwelling with a Moslem Arab; those who prayed and fasted, like good Moslems, were rewarded with money. Finally, the city was wholly given over to the Arabs, and a little later, Samarkand experienced the same fate. From Bokhara as a centre, Islam

[3] For a full description of Bokhara and of these conquests, see the *Encyclopœdia of Islam,* Vol. I, pp. 776-783.

spread gradually by coercion or by persuasion, by preaching or by the sword, throughout all Afghanistan, Turkestan, and Chinese Tartary during a period of two hundred years. When Marco Polo crossed these countries (1271-1294) he found Islam nearly everywhere dominant.

When Kuteiba came to Samarkand, he found many idols there whose worshippers maintained that any man who did violence to the idols would fall dead. The Moslem conqueror set fire to the idols and, no death ensuing, the idolaters embraced Islam. Such is the story as given by the Moslem chroniclers. But it was not an easy conquest for Islam. The opposition to the new faith was so violent, we are told, that none but those who had embraced the religion of Mohammed were allowed to carry arms. Spies were needed to protect the new converts to Islam, and the Moslem conqueror made every effort to win favour, even going so far as to offer money to all who would attend the mosques on Friday. After the Mongol conquest, when the army of Ghengis Khan had swept the old centres of Moslem civilization like a desert simoon and had left behind them ruin and devastation, the regions which now form part of Soviet Russia in Asia were the battleground of three faiths. To-day these three great world religions are still struggling for the mastery. "The spectacle," says Arnold, "of Buddhism, Christianity, and Islam emulously striving to win the allegiance of the fierce conquerors that had set their feet on the necks of the adherents of these great missionary religions is one that is without parallel in the history of the world."[4] Buddhism did not win great

[4] *Preaching of Islam.*

15656

victories, but Islam and Christianity divided the field between them, and the strugge was as fierce as that which the missions are facing to-day in Africa.

The first Mongol ruling prince that embraced Islam was Baraka Khan, chief of the Golden Horde from 1256 to 1265. The story is told that he fell in one day with a caravan of Moslem merchants from Bokhara, and questioned them on the doctrines of Islam. Not only was he persuaded by them to accept their teaching, but he became an earnest propagandist, establishing schools in which the Koran was taught. This ruler was a close ally politically of the Mamluke Sultan of Egypt.

About the middle of the tenth century the first of the Khans of Turkestan became a Moslem, and over two thousand families of his tribe followed suit. These Moslem converts were called Turkomans to distinguish them from the Turks proper who still remained unconverted (Arnold). The year 1347 marks the conversion of Timur Khan, the ruler of Kashgar. After this date we have little detailed information of the continued spread of Islam in Asiatic Russia. As late as the fifteenth century an Arab of Damascus came as a preacher of Islam among certain pagan tribes, the Tunjanis, who lived between Illia and Kamil. He was brought as a prisoner of war by Timur, but he was so zealous for the faith, we are told, that thousands were converted.

The spread of Islam in Siberia proper dates from the sixteenth century. In the eighteenth century Islam first gained entrance among the Baraba Tatars, while during the nineteenth century the Moslem faith won many adherents among the Finns on the Volga, where their numbers are still increasing. There is reliable

testimony of Moslem propagandism in Russia in recent years. The late Baron Nicolai, of St. Petersburg (now Leningrad), reported:

"In the province of Upa, there are aboriginal tribes, Tshenenuss and Votiaks. Since the edict of religious liberty has been proclaimed, the emissaries of Islam have been doing such successful, quiet work among them that already 100,000 nominal Christians have turned Moslems. In the district of Birsk alone, there are 91,000 belonging to these tribes. Within ten years they will all be Moslems."

Why Islam did not win still larger numbers of adherents and overspread European Russia has been variously explained. The Greek Church undoubtedly, through its hierarchy, raised a strong barrier, nor was the government favourable to the spread of Islam in the European provinces. Perhaps, as someone has maliciously said, it was the prohibition of wine which lost many Russians to the Moslem side. But although European Russia has been able to withstand the attractions of Islam, she has been unable to prevent the peoples of the Caucasus and of Central Asia which have come under her rule, from joining the ranks of the Arabian faith.

In a general sense, the Mohammedans of Russia are not distinguished from those of Central Asia in their beliefs or practices. Nearly all of them belong to the orthodox Sunni sect and follow the Koran and the traditions of Islam in accordance with the school of the Hanifs, with the exception of the Shiah minority already mentioned.

According to Professor Vambery, Bokhara is the stronghold of Islam for the whole of Central Asia and Chinese Turkestan; not only is it the social capital,

but the centre of Moslem culture for this wide region as well. It has several important colleges and schools for the training of Moslem teachers. Other great centres of Islam are Khokand, Samarkand, and Tashkent. The testimony of travellers, from that of Schuyler in 1873 to Fraser's in 1907, agrees as regards the social and moral degradation of the Moslem population of Central Asia. It is not unfair to measure the general condition of Moslem lands by that of Moslem womanhood. This differs in accordance with the degree of purely Mohammedan culture. Among the Mohammedans of Russia, the usual evils of the social system permitted and perpetuated by Mohammed obtain.

"The matrimonial relation," says Fraser, "sits very lightly in Turkestan, as indeed it does in most Mussulman countries, despite the injunctions of the prophet. Here, however, they are easier than perhaps in any part of the world. The law allows four wives, and to the letter of it all decent men adhere. But they entirely disregard the spirit by continual change. It is quite usual for an old man of high standing and good reputation to admit to having had thirty or forty different wives in the course of his career. Some men, of course, have so many that they lose count entirely. A considerable proportion of the women have an average of ten husbands during their comparatively brief period of good looks. . . . Divorce costs threepence. It is only necessary for either party to mention the matter to the Kadi, and he makes out a ticket declaring the marriage dissolved."

The same writer gives a sad picture of the lack of respect for the old women too frail to drag themselves the weary length of the pilgrimage to Mecca.

Until recently the use of the veil and the seclusion of women was more universal in Russian Turkestan and other parts of Russian Asia than, for example, in Persia. Women were seldom seen in the streets of the town, and when a woman did appear, she was clad in such a way as to defy the keenest scrutiny.

Superstition flourishes, because, among the Moslems of Russia, as among those in India, illiteracy is sadly prevalent. Some of the superstitions are even more puerile than those observed in Arabia, though all of them find their excuse in the teaching of Mohammed as handed down in the traditions. Schuyler relates that he was shown one day how to eat a watermelon: "According to the Koran, when an animal is killed for food, its throat must be cut in order that the blood may all run out. By transfer of ideas and to satisfy orthodoxy, the melon is treated in the same way!" When a man drinks water, he must first drink one swallow slowly while repeating the name of Allah, then take two swallows, after which he can drink as much as he pleases. Among the more strict Moslems laughing is not allowed in the proximity of the mosques, and whistling is supposed to be dangerous, as it brings death and disaster. A common method of divining the future is to place the shoulder blade of a sheep, carefully cleaned, on the fire. The cracks and colours produced foretell future events.

The mystic poets of Persia are widely read by the Mohammedans of Russia, and the derwish orders are strong. Everywhere there are tombs of saints or welis, and popular religion finds comfort by seeking the intercession of those who died for the faith and are considered martyrs.

Dawn of a New Era. There are signs, however, that

A TYPICAL MOSQUE IN JAVA

The absence of the minaret is conspicuous. In addition to the muezzin's cry given in the upper gallery, they beat great wooden drums as a call to prayer.

A CHRISTIAN CONGREGATION IN JAVA

These Christians represent a total of over 45,000 converts from Islam on this island.

Russian Mohammedans are dissatisfied with present social conditions, and the women themselves have already entered a protest against the system of seclusion. Ten years ago the Mohammedan women of Orenburg province sent a memorial to the Duma demanding that the Mohammedan representatives take steps to free them from the "despotism" of their husbands.

"Although our holy religion," reads the document, "declares us free, some of the ignorant despots, our husbands, are oppressing us and force us lavishly to submit to their caprices. According to the books of doctrine, women have the right to learn, to travel, to pray in mosques, engage in business, etc., and in Arabia and other countries there have been noted women writers and poets. Now our husbands would forbid us even to study our own religion, but we Mohammedan women, Allah be praised; now begin to get education.

"Mohammedan deputies, you are required to demand all rights for Mohammedan women. You must carry through legislation defending us against the arbitrariness of these despot husbands, against oppression and torture. We, mothers of the people, have in our hands the education and progress of the people, and if our status be not changed, the day will come when the men, too, will become slaves, and then the whole Mohammedan world will perish."

No action was taken on this petition, so far as we know, at the time, but the movement continued and has borne fruit.

Not only is there discussion of social reform, but, strange to say, one of the centres where religious reform was first proclaimed on the part of the new Islam was Russia. As early as 1908, the *London Times* con-

tained an article translated from the Tartar paper, *Terdjuman,* and published at Bagchesarai in the Crimea, in which the proposition was made to call a congress to discuss questions of general importance for the reformation of Islam. The appeal was signed by its editor, a Russian Mohammedan, Ismael Bey Gasprinski:

" In paying due attention to the relations of the Mohammedan world, we shall be grieved to notice that, wherever and under whatever rule they be, they always remain behind their neighbours. In Algiers, the Mohammedans are superseded by the Jews, in Crete by the Greeks, in Bulgaria by the Bulgarians, and in Russia by everybody. It it patent that, groaning under despotism and unable to profit by liberty and constitution, they pass their time in patience and submission. We ought to investigate into the causes of this deplorable state, for admitting, for example, that the Algerian Jews surpassed the Algerian Arab, it is astonishing and quite inexplicable that the poor and devout Buddhist should get ahead of the once energetic Moslem."

" This is the much more to be wondered at when we see that in recent times important thoughts and questions have arisen in the Moslem world, and that, among others, the situation of women has been under discussion in Egypt, Russia and India. There have been besides many other topics touched relating to the mutual conditions of Eastern and Western civilization; questions which ought to be handled with ripe consideration and solved in accordance with the special wants of the different countries. But since these questions are of extraordinary interest for the cultural revival of Islam, it is preferable to discuss these matters in a common, general way, instead of the hitherto used single and separate form. The first congress of the Russian Mohammedans in 1905 has greatly contributed towards the rousing and development of these thoughts, and now a much

greater necessity has arisen for the convening of a general congress, the activity of which may be useful to Islam. The congress, embodying our learned clergy and literary celebrities, must not be frightened by the European clamour of Pan-Islamism, for our representatives, gathering from all parts of the world, and striving to solve many social and cultural questions, will open more than one hitherto closed way and door. We shall thus be able to sanction the unavoidably necessary reforms and innovations of Islam."

Ismael Bey Gasprinski was the leader in calling a general Mohammedan Congress in Cairo, about this time, and he also translated the famous book on *New Womanhood,* by Kasim Bey Amin, of Cairo, into Russian. There, as in Egypt, it exerted great influence. But a stronger factor in the disintegration of the old Islam was the World War, the Revolution that followed, and the Soviet rule. P. J. André, in his recent book, *L'Islam et les Races*, sums up the situation:

" It does not appear that people have rightly understood the importance of the Moslem movement in Russia. After the war the Moslems of the Crimea, the Volga, Turkestan, etc., never forgetting that their dependence had been destroyed by the Tsars, welcomed with enthusiasm the principles advocated by President Wilson for the benefit of small nationalities. Besides, loyalty to the Tsar was a personal affair. The Tsars having disappeared, their oath of fidelity ceased to bind them. The Allies did not appear to think it necessary to regroup all these little principalities and republics. . . .

" During the World War the Christians of the Caucasus played a truly military rôle in these regions. The Armenians and the Assyro-Chaldeans bravely fought in the ranks of the Russian Army. After the abandonment of the front in 1917 the Government of Transcaucasus, with the aid of

Tiflis, formed national troops to defend the country against Turkish invasion—consisting of Armenians, Georgians and Tartars. But the Georgians, feeling the incapacity of the Allies to aid the Caucasian people, soon turned toward Germany and Bolshevist Russia; the Tartars, infested by Turkish agents, made common cause with them, and were forced to stop supplies for the Armenians coming from Persia and to cut off communication with Tiflis. Thus the Armenians remained absolutely alone, and one by one, their cities fell into the hands of the enemy.

" Since then the Caucasians have tried to live as an independent state, profiting as much from the anarchy reigning in Turkey as in Russia. But soon they felt the need of aid, especially as the Bolshevists were increasing on one hand, and the Kemalists on the other. The Caucasus is actually the converging point of Russian imperialism and Turkish imperialism, allied for the common cause of destroying the Entente of the European powers.

" The Soviets now seem to have taken up the German dream of using Islam to further the projects of her domination. Agents for this purpose were sent to the Crimea, to the Caucasus, to Central Asia, to Asia Minor, Persian Afghanistan, Siberia, and even to China to win Moslems to the Soviet cause. Those who fought received subsidies in gold, munitions or goods, and at Kazan on the Volga, where the great Mufti of the Moslems of Russia lives, Trotsky founded, in 1920, a military school destined to train Moslem officers from all nations. The pupils not only received military instruction but were taught Bolshevist doctrines.

" For these reasons," says André, " it is important to follow the movement of the Soviets in the Moslem world and the evolution of the Islamic states in Russia and in the Caucasus. The recent nomination of Sheikh Senoussi as President of the Pan-Islamic committee of Moscow should particularly draw serious attention."

The activity of the Moslem press in Russia to-day,

especially the journalistic press, is bound up with these Soviet Republics. The chief centres of journalism are Bakchisarai, Kazan, Baku, Orenburg, and Leningrad. Kazan, where several hundred books are published every year, is still the educational and intellectual capital. Ufa is the headquarters of the Mohammedan ecclesiastical assembly. Orenburg, Tiflis, and Troitsk are also important.

Kazan has six Moslem newspapers, Tashkent five, Ashqabad three, Khoqand and Samarkand each one. At Bukhara the Moslem press is also fairly active in the Arabic, Persian, and Turki languages. Altogether about fifty Islamic newspapers have appeared in Russia.

The most important, and one of the earliest Moslem journals, was the weekly paper entitled *Millet,* under the editorship of the late Ismail Bey Gasprinski, the leader of education and reform. Another pioneer of the press in Russia was Ahmad Bey Agayeff.

In the Crimea there is an important newspaper called *Tarjaman,* with a circulation of over 5,000. It first appeared in 1879, also under the editorship of Ismail Bey Gasprinski, but it is now conducted by Jaafer Seyid Amet.

According to Joseph Castagne, the Russian Soviet has obtained control of some of the leading Russian Moslem newspapers, and since 1921 it has been engaged in a systematic effort to make Islam the ally of Bolshevism, not only in Russia, but in all Central Asia. Two Usbek journals, *Inqilab* (" Revolution ") and *Kyzyl Bairak* (" The Red Flag "), both published at Tashkent under Mohammedan editors, preach Communism to all Turkestan. The last named paper appears in Tatar, Kirghize, and Russian, as well as in the

Usbek language, and the total circulation in these four languages is over 37,000.[5]

In Persia, Soviet propaganda has been active in the Moslem press since the appointment of a Bolshevik Minister at Teheran in 1921. At Resht a Communist paper called *The Red Revolution* is distributed gratuitously. Georges Ducrocq mentions many other Bolshevist-Moslem journals, such as *Hallaj, Badr, Toufan* (" The Deluge "), etc.[6] Some of these were ephemeral and others were suppressed, but the Soviet influence continues. Two Turkish papers are also mentioned—*Yeni-Dunya* (Baku), edited by a follower of Karl Marx, and *Yeni Hayat* (Angora), a Communist journal.[7]

The only real hope for the Moslems of Russia, as for men everywhere, is in the Gospel of Jesus Christ. Of all the Mohammedans in the world, those in Russia have been most neglected. With the exception of missionary journeys on the part of one or two pioneers and the work of the Swedish missionaries at Kashgar, Bokhara, and Yarkand in Chinese Turkestan, no missionary work is carried on for the Moslems of Russia and Central Asia by special societies. Miss Jenny de Meyer has been the dauntless pioneer in the preparation of suitable literature in Sart and Turki. She also has visited the Moslems of Russia and Central Asia in many arduous journeys. Her faith and fidelity in the face of great obstacles remind one of the zeal of the early Christians.

The entire New Testament has been translated into

[5] Joseph Castagne, " Le Bolshevisme et l'Islam," in *Revue du Monde Musulman,* October, 1922, pp. 127-33.

[6] *Ibid.,* pp. 127-133.

[7] Joseph Castagne, " Le Bolshevisme et l'Islam," in *Revue du Monde Musulman,* December, 1922, pp. 207-210.

the Turkish dialect spoken at Kashgar, and the Swedish Mission has at present missionaries in Chinese Turkestan. They expect to open up Khotan, near the border of Tibet. The missionary, E. J. Larsen, reported at the Cairo Conference that Bible distribution had been carried on from Bokhara as a centre and that a number of Moslems had been converted and baptized in the Caucasus, but this work is still in its infancy. It is encouraging to note, however, that the Bible, or portions of the Bible, have been translated into the following languages used among the Moslems of the Russian Empire, while the Koran, although translated into Russian,[8] has not been put into any of these languages except Turkish:

Bashkir Turki	In the Urals
Trans-Caucasian Turki	Caucasus
Jagatai Turki	Turkestan
Kashgar Turki	Chinese Turkestan
Kirghiz Turki	Western Siberia
Kazan Turki	Kazan Russia
Mordoff	On the Volga
Turkish	Crimea
Uzbek Turki	Central Asia
Wogul	Western Siberia
Wotjak	Orenburg

[8] An annotated Arabic text of the Koran was published at St. Petersburg by order and at the expense of the Empress Catherine II in 1787. This edition was reprinted in 1790, 1793, 1796, 1798, and again at Kazan in 1803, 1809, and 1839. Another edition in two volumes without notes was printed at Kazan in 1817; reprinted in 1821 and 1843, and a third elaborate edition in six volumes at the same place in 1819. These Russian editions were all for the use of Moslems in Russia and were of the Arabic text. A Russian version of the Koran was printed in St. Petersburg in 1776 and often since. It is not, of course, in general use among Moslems.

Has the time not come to begin missions among the polyglot Mohammedans of Russia? Surely, there are many souls among them who are longing for salvation, if only the Gospel were proclaimed. The mystic tendency of Islam in Central Asia and the numerous pilgrimages to Mecca made by Russian Mohammedans, often at great personal sacrifice, are proofs of a secret longing for peace.

XVI

ISLAM IN INDIA

IN the ethnic pageant which passes across one's vision as one travels over India," says the Earl of Ronaldshay in his recent book, " there is one tableau which at once arrests attention because of the many points of contrast which it provides with the rest of the procession of which it forms a part. It is the tableau in which we see represented a religion, a civilization and culture, and an outlook differing profoundly in all material respects from those of Hinduism, but nevertheless an essential component of the India of to-day—that of Islam." And he goes on to show that Islam is the most formidable obstacle in the way of those who seek to make India one nation; that no Mohammedan cna have a Hindu relative, and vice versa; that the attachment of Indian Moslems to Islam as an institution transcends all boundaries of race, of language, and of country; and that this devotion to Islam has had a profound influence in recent years on the economic, social, and educational condition of seventy million people.

When we speak of the Christianization of India we must not forget that Moslem India remains in a very real sense an unoccupied field. It is the largest and most important Moslem land in the world. Within the area of India, including Ceylon and Burma, the number of Mohammedans is greater than of those in all Africa, or the Near East, or Malaysia. It is only by

comparison with other countries that this enormous figure can be appreciated. The single province of Bengal has a Mohammedan population of over 25,-500,000; this is greater than the corresponding figure in all Arabia, Egypt, and Persia together. The number of Mohammedans in the Punjab alone is nearly as large as that in Egypt. In no less than ten provinces there is a Moslem population of over one million each. The Moslem population of India has increased by over thirty-seven per cent. in the last forty years, and they are exerting much effort to spread their faith to-day.

The influence of Islam in India is not, however, merely that of vast numbers. Indian Moslems exercise a worldwide influence through their *diaspora* and their press. India is the only country that has sent out in recent years missionaries of Islam and enrolled "converts" in England, France, the United States, Brazil, Australia, East and West Africa. There are two hundred and twenty Moslem periodicals published in India, and a score published by Indians in European languages, to vindicate Islam. We must add to this that India is of all Moslem lands the most accessible and has the most religious liberty.

For these reasons, and in response to an invitation from the National Christian Council, we visited India in 1924 and again in 1927-28. At the time of our first visit, our itinerary included Bombay, Aligarh, Lucknow, Delhi, Lahore, Qadian, the hill stations, Landour-Mussoorie and Naini Tal, Calcutta, Bogra, Poona, Hyderabad, Madras, Vaniyambadi, Vellore, Bangalore and Colombo. On our second visit other centres, Karachi, Ahmedabad, Rawalpindi, Peshawar, Bareilly, Jubbulpore, Dacca, and Madura, also were included. The result was a general as well as a particular view

of Islam in all of the main centres. On our second visit Mrs. Zwemer and I travelled eight thousand nine hundred miles by rail or motor, visited twenty-four places and gave a total of over three hundred and fifty lectures or addresses to study-groups or the public. What a vision we had of a great unfinished task and of millions eager for more light and life than Islam brings!

When we study the map of India showing the distribution of foreign missionaries to each million of the population by provinces, it is evident that the Mohammedan sections are the most sparsely occupied. Not only is Mohammedan India a neglected field taken in the large, but province by province this holds true with few exceptions.

Many of the provinces, too, have a special interest and importance. Ajmere, for example, has only a small Moslem population, but the tomb of Mu'in-ed-din Chisti (died 1236) is a pilgrim centre for all India. Baluchistan is ninety per cent. Moslem, and to a large extent unoccupied. In Bihar, at Bankipore, is the largest and richest library of Arabic and Persian manuscripts in all India. Bombay Presidency not only has its large Moslem population in Sindh, Cutch, Gujerat and the Konkan coast, but Bombay is the chief centre for the Mecca pilgrims and sends a large Moslem emigration to East Africa, Burma and Mauritius. In Central India the principal Moslem state is Bhopal, founded in 1707 by an Afghan Nawab. The Begum of Phopal is a leader in social and educational reform. The 141,758 Mohammedans in the capital city of Delhi have traditions and political ambitions that emphasize the importance of work done at this centre. Kashmir, next to Baluchistan, and the Northwest Prov-

ince, has the largest proportion of Mohammedans in any province. These three areas also are on the border marches of Afghanistan and Central Asia.

The pathos of the situation, however, is that in Bengal and in the northwest of India, not to mention Afghanistan, there are whole districts wholly or predominantly Mohammedan without a single foreign missionary witness for Christ. Examples are Jalpaiguri, Cooch, Bihar, Dinajpur Malda, Birbhum, Burdwan, Noakli Districts in Bengal Province; in the last district alone there are 1,423,000 Moslems. No work is carried on by any society among the million and a half of Malayalam-speaking Moslems of Malabar. Moslem India is a *continent* of opportunity. The missionary forces are, generally speaking, well distributed; there is considerable literature in the chief languages used by Moslems; the Indian Church is becoming aware of its responsibility and of the need of a united indigenous Church where Moslem and Hindu converts will manifest Christian unity in the midst of communal tension. There are thousands of converts from Islam, many of whom are among the most able and courageous leaders of the Christian Church. We heard of sporadic conversions all over the country and were witnesses how educated Moslems thronged to hear the Christian message and how everywhere the old spirit of fanatic intolerance is disappearing. Let two instances speak for themselves.

From Lahore, we travelled one day to Gurdaspur and on to Qadian, the birthplace of "The Promised Messiah of the Punjab," and of the Ahmadiya Movement. Three of us took the journey in Dr. Gordon's Ford car along the beautiful irrigation canal, with the snow-capped Himalaya ranges in sight. We reached

the outskirts of Qadian at 4 P. M., and walked through the dirty streets to the house of "His Holiness the Caliph of the Messiah." Our reception was most cordial. In fact, they had sent to meet us at another railway station and invited us to spend days instead of hours. My friend, Dr. Mohammed Sadiq, of Detroit and Chicago, was in evidence and apologized that he could offer us no "rocking-chair and honey-dew melons." They gave us of their best and we saw all there was to see,—printing presses, mailing bureau, post-office, theological school, girls' and boys' schools,—a busy hive of propagandism. Not only is the *Review of Religions* published here, but three other magazines; and correspondence is carried on with London, Paris, Berlin, Chicago, Singapore, and all the Near East; pigeon-holes filled with possibilities; shelves crowded with encyclopædias, and anti-Christian philosophies; an armory to prove the impossible; a credulous faith that almost removes mountains, yet in this nest of propaganda, as afterward also at Lahore, we met only with personal kindness and hospitality.

Arrangements had been made at Hyderabad for three public addresses on "The Character of Christ," "The Message of Christianity," and "The Crucifixion." These lectures were given in English without an interpreter on three successive nights in St. George's Hall. The place seats about three hundred, and was overcrowded. We were at first perplexed but afterwards delighted when His Highness the Nizam sent word that he desired (*i. e.*, commanded) me to give a lecture "on Islam at nine o'clock Tuesday morning for himself and his court." The proper preparations were made, the place was crowded, and at the exact hour the Nizam and his daughters and a large staff

drove up in motor cars. To depict the new world of Islam before such an audience without giving offense to them or to one's own conscience was not easy. But intercession prevailed. It was encouraging to hear one of his secretaries, a dignified Moslem of the old school, say: "You have made us better men by your visit." And he said that after an address on our Lord's crucifixion! At the conclusion of that address, an Indian Christian lady sang, "When I Survey the Wondrous Cross," and one could have heard a pin drop. There is an open door for tactful, aggressive evangelism among the thousands of English-speaking Moslems of India.

A great and effectual door has been opened and yet there are many adversaries and many difficulties—some not found in other Moslem lands. The very greatness of the task adds to its baffling perplexity; that is one reason for the long neglect. Let us study it more closely.

It is important to give a detailed description of the life of the people, their social status, and the environment in which they live. What would be true of one part of India is not true of the whole. "Mother India" has many sons and daughters, there is a family resemblance, but there are also great differences. The unity of Islam is a fact, and yet there is nothing that so impressed us during our travels and in close contact with Moslems, and those who work among them as the great diversity of Islam, its multitudinous divisions, and the fissures that run deep across its superficial unity.

"We all use the word Islam in a number of different senses," says Dr. C. H. Becker. "In the first place we use

it of the religion of Islam, whether we are speaking of the original teachings of Mohammed or of the orthodox system of doctrine, which is fundamentally different, or of the popular religion of present day Mohammedans in Asia and Africa. Whether we have in mind the religious activities of Turks or Negroes, whether we are speaking of a Ghazali or a Sudanese Mahdi, we use the same term—Islam. The less people know, the more they tend to generalize . . . and it cannot be too strongly urged that, more particularly if estimates of comparative value are to be attempted, an exact definition should always be given of what is meant by Islam in any particular case."[1]

In no case is this so difficult as in the case of the Moslem population of India. That population is not only vast and covers what is a continental area, from the Himalayan ranges to Cape Comorin, with Ceylon and Burma, but a population diverse in racial origin, economic development, social conditions, religious beliefs and education. A polyglot conglomeration of tribes, peoples, languages and customs that bewilders the census bureau; a moving panorama of well nigh seventy million people who seem to have little in common as regards outward appearance or mentality, but are all described by one word—Islam.

Java has a larger Moslem population than there is in the Punjab and in Bombay Presidency, but in languages, culture, and racial characteristics Javanese Islam is of one piece. In the Punjab it forms a crazy patchwork. The whole of North Africa shows less of Islamic diversity than Madras Province. In the North West Frontier Province the census gives twenty-five sub-divisions of the Pathans, including Afridis, Ghil-

[1] *Islam-Studien: Von Werden und Wesen der Islamischen Welt* (Leipzig).

zais and many more tribes; "others," not Pathans, fall into forty-three racial sub-sections. Everywhere we find ethnological lines of cleavage.

"The living beliefs of the tribesmen of Baluchistan," says a careful observer, "have little to do with the religions which they profess, or the various sects under which they range themselves. There is as much difference between the Islam of the average tribesman and the highly developed Islam of the Indian maulvi, as between the Hinduism of the domiciled Hindu families and the Hinduism of orthodox Brahminism. As regards outward observances, the Pathan stands no doubt on a high level; for all his ignorance of the inner meaning of his faith and his weakness for ancestor worship, he is usually as punctilious over his prayers and his facts (if not over the pilgrimage and almsgiving) as his more enlightened co-religionists; what he lacks in doctrine he is quite capable of making up in fanatical zeal. The Baluch lags far behind him. Though there are signs of religious revival, ancient custom still holds sway in the vital affairs of his life; to him religious precepts are little more than counsels of perfection; religious practices little more than the outward and awe-inspiring marks of exceptional respectability. Among the Brahuis a truly devout Mussulman, learned in doctrine and strict in practice, is rarer still; with the vulgar mass Islam is merely an external badge that goes awkwardly with the quaint bundle of superstitions which have them in thrall." [3]

India is not a country but a continent. Its Moslem population includes Sheikhs, Seyyids, Moghuls, Pathans, Sindhis, Bohras, Baluchis, Arabs, Farsis, Labbais, Moplahs, Khojas, Memens and other racial groups with special names of origin used by themselves and which in some cases approach in definite cleavage the

[3] Census Report, 1911.

AT THE TRAINING SCHOOL FOR EVANGELISTS, SOLO, JAVA

Some students. These men are future leaders of the Christian Church.

EXTERIOR OF BUILDING OF ONE OF THE CLASSES

NEW ROADS IN PERSIA

Also new opportunities for evangelism. Bishop Linton distributing literature to Bakhtiari villagers.

caste-system of the Brahmins. Ever since the Sindh invasion, in 711 A. D., wave after wave of invaders has come in from Arabia, Afghanistan, Persia, and Central Asia by land or by sea. They mingled their blood with those who willingly or unwillingly accepted Islam. It is estimated that six millions to-day are of Afghan or Pathan blood, three hundred thousand of Persian, and a similar number of Turkish or Arab ancestry. The remainder may be roughly described as of Hindu-Arab origin. The Rajput Moslems, the Moplahs, Dukekulas and Lebbais of the Tamil and Telugu country, the Bohras and Khojas of Bombay and the Memens of Kutch are examples.

Islam in India is also polyglot to an extent that few realize. The Arab alphabet and the Koran are found everywhere, but Arabic has not displaced any Indian language, although it has influenced all Moslem speech and introduced in large areas a peculiar *patois* which is designated as Musulman-Bengali, Mussulman-Gujrati, etc., and is not always intelligible to non-Moslems.

This Islamized Bengali is the common tongue of twenty-two millions of villagers and tillers of the soil in Bengal Province; and although only 10.9 per cent. of the males and 0.6 per cent. of the females are literate this hybrid tongue is the language used by them for a considerable literature.

Next to Bengali, Urdu is the most important language—in some respects the *lingua-franca* for all Moslem India and the one which is chiefly used by the Moslem press. Out of a total of the two hundred and twenty-two Moslem periodicals and dailies printed in India one hundred and fifty-seven are Urdu. Other languages used by Moslems are Gujerati, Marathi,

Sindhi, Pashtu, Kashmiri, Hindi, Punjabi, Baluchi, Tamil, Telugu, Canarese, Malayalam, Oriya, to mention only the important language groups. Arabic, Persian and English are known by many of the educated classes and everywhere, especially in the Punjab, these three are next to the colloquials the important media for propaganda and for maintaining an *esprit-de-corps*. The number of those who speak and read English is large and continually increasing. Sixteen English periodicals are published by the Moslems of India at home and abroad.

In multitude and variety of sects, Islam in India leads all other lands. Extremes meet in most confusing fashion. The Ahl-ul-Hadith (Wahhabis) are rigid purists, while the disciples of Aligarh University preach radical reform. Gross superstition connected with the worship of saints (Pirs) exists side by side with *Anjumans* (Clubs), institutes and libraries that proclaim Islam as the final and perfect message. Sunni Islam predominates; the Hanafi rite has perhaps forty-eight million followers, the Shafa'is, in Malabar and Madras, number over a million, while a small scattered minority are Malaki. The actual followers of the teachings of Ibn Hanbal—calling themselves Ahl-ul-Hadith—in Bengal, the United Provinces and the North West Provinces—number over nine millions. Between these orthodox groups there is often hard feeling. Often in listening to lectures and in reading the tracts published by both parties, a Christian finds himself in a whirlpool of word-quarrels.

If the orthodox disagree in this fashion, what can one say of the "heretics"? The Shiahs who follow the twelve Imams number over five million, but their rival sect of Isma'ilis is divided into at least three

important groups, the Dawudi and Suleimani Bohras (who both have living Imams), and the Khojas or followers of the Aga Khan.

In addition to all these sects there are the so-called irregular Sunnis, such as the Memens in Kutch, the Mahdawis in Gujerat, the Zikris in Baluchistan, and the Ahmadiyas of Qadian with their rivals at Lahore. The last named are the most vociferous and zealous propagandists in all India, and their *diaspora* compass land and sea to make proselytes. Two of their number in recent years were stoned to death in Afghanistan, their books and "Holy Koran" are banned by the orthodox of Cairo, while the *Moslem Chronicle*, of Calcutta, says, "the way they are preaching has nothing to do with Islam nor will any Mussulman with a grain of common sense admit the dogmas which they preach. It is ridiculous that a man calling himself 'Ghulam' (slave) of Ahmed can be claimed as one of the Apostles of God" (Dec. 9th, 1927).

Since the collapse of the non-co-operation movement under Mr. Gandhi and Moslem leaders, like Mohammed Ali and Shaukat Ali, and after the disappearance of the Khalifat agitation with the end of the Caliphate, the lines of political cleavage have cut still deeper into the body of Islam. The All-India Moslem League and the Provincial Leagues have lost their power and are in an unsettled state. There are serious divisions in the camp and rival candidates for leadership, among whom Sir Mohammed Shafi and H. H. The Aga Khan claim precedence. Meanwhile an "All-India Tabligh Conference" was held at Delhi under the presidency of Hajji Lord Headley. It was announced beforehand as "epoch-making and of unique importance for the future of Islam," but ended in a fiasco.

One thing has worked for unity, however, amid all this diversity. It is the communal tension between Moslem and Hindu which has during the past year led to serious riots and bloodshed.

Speaking at Mirzapore Park, in 1926, Mr. Gandhi said:

"Some day or other we Hindus and Mussulmans will have to come together if we want the deliverance of our country; and if it is to be our lot that before we can come together we must shed one another's blood, then I say the sooner we do so the better it is for us. If we propose to break one another's heads, let us do so in a manly way; let us not, then, shed crocodile tears, let us not ask for sympathy from any quarter."[3]

The challenge seems to have been literally accepted. During the past year India has been torn by suicidal quarrels over such apparently trivial matters as music before mosques and cow-slaughter, resulting in widespread murder, looting and arson. The cause of these communal disputes are a highly controversial subject. Some lay them to the political organization of the Indian people since the reforms; others emphasize the religious factor; while there are also those who claim that the economic question is the most serious.

"The Bengal Moslems are wetchedly poor; the Moslems of Eastern Bengal are slightly better off, yet even there, where Moslems form about seventy-five per cent. of the population, the proportion of Hindu landlords is eighty per cent. In the United Provinces, the Moslem landlords pay twenty-five per cent. of the Government revenue. As

[3] Statement on the Moral and Material Progress and Condition of India, 1925-26 (London).

they form about one-fifth of the population, the figure is by no means poor; but if you look up the gazetteer of any district in the United Provinces you will find that the property of Moslems is heavily mortgaged. The Punjab Moslems are probably the most prosperous of all the Moslems in India, but this is due to a very large extent to the beneficial effects of the Land Alienation Act. But commerce, industry, banking, etc., are in the hands of the Hindus."

Shafa'at Ahmad Khan, whom we have quoted, goes on to say that the religious factor must also be taken into consideration:

"As the Hindus and Moslems do not follow the Gregorian calendar, the dates of their festivals shift regularly. It might happen that the period of the greatest mourning among the Moslems, the Moharrum, may synchronize with a festival that enjoins festivity on the Hindus. This is a time of great trouble and trial to the people and it is especially on these days that 'collisions' occur between the two communities."[4]

Where now there is acute tension and collision of interests once there was tolerance, not only, but an absorption of each other's beliefs, leading to all sorts of syncretism,—Hindu-Moslem sects and practices that add to the general confusion of Islam. Moslem saints in earlier days numbered many Hindus among their disciples and thousands of Hindus worship at their tombs. At Girot, in the Punjab, the tombs of a Hindu and a Moslem ascetic stand in close proximity and amity since they receive joint worship. Some Moslem theologians in the past (*e. g.*, Hasan Nizami, 1325 A. H.) and the Ahmadiyas of Quadian to-day actually

[4] "Hindu-Moslem Relations," in the *Asiatic Review*, Oct., 1927

admit the Hindu gods Ram and Krishna to the rank of prophets of Allah, basing their conclusion on Koran passages which state that every nation has its prophet (XIII:8 and XVI:38).

The Moslem poets of Bengal sang the praises of Siva and Kali, while in Kasmir Hindu shrines became the graves of Moslem saints who never existed.

Confusion is worse confounded in certain mixed sects which reconcile the two faiths, such as the Pirzadas, the Hussaini Brahmins, the Kartabhajas (Bengal) and other minor groups. Above all we see an outstanding example of this syncretism in Nanak, the founder of the Sikh religion. The same tendency persists in our own day, even among the fanatic Moplahs. One of them said, "We must unite our three religions into one. Hinduism will supply the religious philosophy, Islam the enthusiasm and definiteness, while Christianity will give the ethical ideals."

In addition to all these various sects, syncretisms, and ethnological lines of cleavage, the social conditions of Moslems in India differ widely in the various provinces. In Baluchistan and part of Sindh, life resembles that of the Arabian plateau in its patriarchal simplicity, under hard conditions, but with nomad freedom. The warlike tribes of the North West Frontier are in strong contrast to the peaceful peasants toiling in the jute fields of Eastern Bengal. What greater social contrast could there be than between the Rajput landowner of the Punjab and the Bohrah pearl-dealer of Bombay; or that between the comparative freedom of womenfolk among the educated in Bombay and the purdah at its worst, as in Shiah Lucknow.

Of the various religious communities in India the Mohammedan on the whole exhibits a greater degree

of illiteracy than any other, with the exception of some animistic tribes. For Christians the proportion of literates is 32 per cent. among men and 18 per cent. among women; for Hindus it is 15 per cent. among men and 1½ per cent among women; but for Moslems it is only 8 per cent. among men and a half of one per cent. among women.

In direct contrast with this appalling illiteracy, perhaps because of it and the dawning consciousness that illiteracy is holding back the whole community, we find earnest efforts to push forward education and schemes for educational reforms. The backward provinces are Northwest India and Eastern Bengal; in the ancient centres of Moslem civilization the level of education is as high or in some cases even higher than among the Hindus. Here again there is a great diversity, and one cannot generalize. In 1920 there were 230,836 private primary Moslem schools with 1,824,364 pupils, of whom only 284,661 were girls. The number of secondary Moslem schools which teach the rudiments of English, Urdu, Persian and Arabic is fourteen, and there are also twenty-five Moslem normal schools. The chief centres of higher university education under Moslem control are at Aligarh, Delhi, Hyderabad, Lahore, Pashawar, Lucknow, Bombay, Karachi, Calcutta and Dacca. The principal schools for the preparation of religious leaders and with a classical curriculum are the following: The Madrasa Illahiya (Cawnpore), for the training of missionaries; Dar-al-'Ulum (Deoband), probably the most famous in India for Arabic learning; the Nizamia of Faranghi Mahal (Lucknow), conservative; Dai'ra Shah Ajmal (Allahabad), a seminary with Sufi tendencies; Dar al-Musannafin, the Academy Shibli Numani (Azamgarh), literary; Anjuman Tar-

aqqi-ad-Din (Aurangabad), for the improvement of Moslem apologetic; and Nadwat al-Ulama (Lucknow), which is modernist-conservative in character. In these various institutions there is a great diversity both in outlook and ideal of education.

There are two factors, however, that constantly tend to produce Islamic unity in the midst of and in spite of all this diversity. One is political, the other spiritual. The one already referred to finds expression in the press and through such organization as the All-India Moslem League; the other in the derwish orders and in the revival of propaganda for the faith. The religious fraternities that exercise the greatest influence and that are spread like a network over all India are the Christi, the Suhrawardi, the Qadari, the Shattari, and the Naqshabandi. Wherever we travelled disciples of these orders were found, their Zikrs are held in every large centre, and their literature is on sale even in the village bookshops. In a two-hundred-page catalogue of Arabic books, printed by a bookseller at Surat, for example, twenty pages are devoted to Sufi literature. The *wirds* (rosary-books) are found in all Moslem vernaculars, often with the original Arabic or the Urdu text added. As in other lands, so in India, the missionary body seemed to us to be out of touch with this side of Islamic life and thought. Yet there is no doubt that a large majority of Sunni Mohammedan men and women belong to one or another of these orders.

In addition to those mentioned and in which they observe the customary ordinances of Islam there are irregular orders, peculiar to India, looked upon with disfavour by the orthodox. The members are nearly all illiterate and of the lower classes. Among them are

the Madaris, with their shrine at Makanpur, and the Rasulshahis, found as begging dervishes in Gujerat, but in the Punjab as respectable citizens of literary tastes. Moslem saints are numbered by hundreds throughout India, and every shrine is a place of local or national pilgrimage; for example, at Ajmere the tomb of Mu'in-ud-Din Chisti (d. 1236). At Lahore we saw crowds tying their rags to the brass railings of a marble tomb near a mosque in the heart of a city; among the devotees was a third year university student who said he sought intercession of the dead saint in order to pass a difficult examination in psychology! Each saint's tomb has special virtues (karamat). Khawaja Khidr, Malumiyar and Pir Badr are the patrons of sailors; Sher Shah, at Multan, of persecuted lovers; while Shah Dawla protects weak children.[5]

A knowledge of Mohammedan mysticism, its vocabulary, its aims and its organization would undoubtedly prove the key to the hearts of the masses in nearly every part of India.

The second spiritual force that binds Islam together is the spirit of propaganda. In this work the pen is to-day mightier than the sword was in the past. Never were men and money more readily available in the effort to spread Islam. Never was the press more active and enterprising. "The leadership has passed to the Lahore school, with its aggressive press, which mocks at missionaries and *mullahs* with equal gusto. Young Moslem India knows enough of the strength of Christianity and the weakness of Islam to be properly perplexed, and is therefore ready to follow the lead of this rationalistic school, which rejects, as spurious,

[5] *Cf.* article by T. W. Arnold on India, in the *Encyclopædia of Islam*).

embarrassing traditions, and interprets the Koran in a way that passes muster in this twentieth century." [6]

The chief propaganda organizations, with branches everywhere are *Jamiat-i-Tabligh* (headquarters at Amballa), the *Tanzim* movement in Bengal and the United Provinces, the *Khuddam-i-Ka'aba* (Lucknow), a Shiah organization, the Ahmadiyas at Qadian and Lahore, and the Khojas of Bombay, backed by the wealth of the Aga Khan. The objects of all these organized movements are well expressed in the printed circular of the *Tanzim* of Bengal, from which we quote:

" To establish unity and solidarity among Moslems of all classes and views by propagating the general principles and ideals of Islam and insisting upon religious observances, congregational daily and Friday prayers and encouraging *tabligh* (*i. e.*, preaching or propaganda).

" To re-organize the mosques as units of economic and educational as well as moral and religious reform, and to reform and regularize the sermons and the spiritual and moral instruction of the masses.

" To establish primary schools and *maktabs* for the boys and girls and night schools for adults, as well as centres for physical training, wherever possible in connection with the mosques, and to secure the fullest benefit to Moslems from the existing educational institutions and organizations of the Government and local bodies.

" To establish and circulate leaflets and literature regarding Islamic principles and the ideals and schemes of *Tanzim* and to start an English, Bengali, or Urdu organ for the above propaganda, if and when finances permit.

" To organize regular and methodical collection of funds

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[6] *The Muslims of India:* A Survey by the National Christian Council, 1927.

for any or all of the above purposes by systematizing the institutions of *Zakat, Wakf, Sadqa, Qurbani,* and other Islamic charities, and gradually evolving a *Bait-ul-Mal* as well as inviting periodical subscriptions and occasional donations."

Tabligh is merely mentioned in the above points, but among the published aims of another missionary society we find the following clause: "To work for the conversion of non-Moslem India. In this direction the conversion of the eighty millions of the depressed classes of India is the chief aim of the workers." *Tanzim* means organization, and *Tabligh* can best be translated Islamization. Here, then, we have a definite watchword: the Islamization of all India.

Our visit to Poona, in 1924, brought us in touch with two typical Moslem missionary societies. The first is called *Jamiat-i-Dawat-i-Tabligh-i-Islam,* and has its headquarters at 2410 East Street, with six branches in North and Western India. It employs missionary agents, has orphanages, prints tracts and books in English and Gujerati, and its annual budget is given at about $8,000. The second Moslem missionary society is that of His Highness the Aga Khan, the famous head of the Ismailiya community in Western India. We visited their orphanage, industrial school, and the reading room, and secured a copy of their finely illustrated year book. It has articles on Islam, modern culture, and politics, and is a curious exhibit of syncretism of all Indian faiths, in three languages, English, Urdu and Gujerati. Not only Mohammed and his great successors, but Zoroaster, Krishna, Mahatma, Gandhi, Moses and Jesus are given a place of honour. It was in Poona also that a

bookseller gave us a list of six different versions of the Koran now available in Urdu. In Hyderabad, a few days later, we met an aged and learned Moslem who, although partly paralyzed, was preparing a seventh and improved version of the "Holy Koran" in the same language. Islam is awake! In Bombay there is a "Holy Koran Translation Society."

At Karachi, in 1927, it was our privilege to attend a meeting of the Central *Jamiat-i-Tabligh,* held in a very large tent adorned with flags and banners announcing in Urdu, Gujerati and English the object of the series of meetings. There was music, song, declamations, orations, and lively enthusiasm. Circulars were distributed containing an appeal for twenty-five lakhs of Rupees as an endowment fund. In the circular we read:

"Christian missions have been at work in India for some centuries. Their organization is perfect, their funds are enormous and their methods of work much more effective than the rowdy and clumsy methods of the *Shuddhi* (*i. e.,* Arya Somaj) workers, whose only weapons are a long purse, a heart burning with the hatred of the Moslem, and a foul tongue spurting out abuse. There is a network of Christian missions spread all over India. Hundreds of different missions, hundreds of institutions and hospitals, and thousands of workers constitute the strength of the Christian propaganda. Thousands of Moslems have already fallen a prey to the Christian missionary and there are yet greater dangers ahead."

In the city of Lahore we were told that the Ahmadiya missionary budget is about 284,000 Rupees annually, while in the same city other *Anjumans* spent no less than 940,000 Rupees in one year for *Tabligh*

purposes. It is true these figures may be excessive, yet similar activity is found in other metropolitan centres.

With the exception, however, of these missionary efforts and that of real educational revival, Islam in India shows less signs of social reform than in the Near East. Few allow their women folk to break through the rigid *purdah,* and there is little agitation for radical reform of the marriage laws and customs. Indian Moslems have a great amount of leeway to make up, as we can judge from the fact that the report of drastic reforms taking place in Turkey and in Egypt is met with widespread incredulity in Hyderabad, we found very little change in the traditional views about polygamy or *purdah,* but a deep interest in such distant issues as the Druse War, the Riff Campaign and the future of the Hejaz. So our observations end as they began. Islam in India has a diversity unparalleled and yet is bound together into a real unity by community of interest in religious politics and propaganda. The grist that comes from the Ahmadiya mills at Woking and Lahore, therefore, is greedily devoured by the very people who condemn the writers as rank heretics *because it furnishes clever arguments against Christian missions.*

His majesty the King of Afghanistan was enthusiastically welcomed on the occasion of his departure for Europe by all classes of Moslems at Bombay, where he spoke in the Juma' Mosque on toleration and religious liberty! Will he open his kingdom to missionaries?

Hajji Lord Headley presided at the All-India Tabligh Conference, at Delhi, although his un-Islamic life and teachings are well known to the Moslem press

of India. The Aga Khan faced a disgruntled section of his own community at Karachi in rebellion against his authority, while on his way to Calcutta to attend the All-India Moslem League. At every turn one realizes that Islam in India is a kaleidoscope where the regularity of the pattern—always limited to the old lines—loses itself in a variety of form and colour—yet the form and colour are strangely familiar.

The present attitude of the educated Moslem to the Gospel is sympathetic, even eager, although also severely critical of Christian life and doctrine. The ethical standards of Christ are often openly approved and the New Testament is searched for new truth. The general knowledge of the Scriptures reveals itself in the quotations found in Moslem newspapers and in their propagandist literature. The arena of conflict once was the Koran, now they themselves have chosen the Bible.

Our Western civilization is tested in Moslem newspapers and magazines by the ethical standards of Jesus Christ in the Gospel. The World War, any race prejudices shown in the treatment of the Negro or the Indian, the exclusion of the Japanese from the United States, the use of intoxicating liquor, immodesty of dress or behaviour of Westerners—all these are the subjects for editorials, and Scripture is used to support the diatribe or discussion.

There is also a new spirit of tolerance, with its danger of compromise for Christianity. "Love thy neighbour as thyself," says an Indian Moslem in a recent book, "is the most comprehensive rule of conduct which has ever been laid down for the guidance of mankind. To my mind there is no better proof of the identity of the spirit of Christianity and Islam

than the confirmation of Christ's command by Mohammed himself. No one will be a faithful Moslem until he loves his neighbour 'as he loves himself.' For this reason, I believe that there is no difference between the two religions, if the metaphysical doctrines engrafted on both be eliminated. True Islam is but true Christianity writ short. Both recognize that the source of virtue is love."

This new attitude of the Moslem mind toward the Gospel is indicated by questions that were sent in to me after public addresses or in some cases by mail. Nothing indicates better the present-day attitude of Islam and the difficulties they have than such questions as were put for immediate reply or in some cases as a challenge to establish the truth of Islam versus Christianity. Here are fifteen of them taken at random:

1. "One of the principal claims which Christians advance as to the personality of Jesus is that He was the Son of God—a son not in the sense in which every human soul is considered a child of God—but a Son having been directly procreated by God on the person of Mary and that He was God incarnate Himself. Are these claims sustainable in view of such evidence to the contrary, as would appear in Mark 10:8; Luke 18; Matthew 19:17; John 14:12, and John 20:17?"

2. "Did Jesus ever dream of making Himself pass for an incarnation of God? Is there any evidence in the synoptic Gospels?"

3. "What inference would you draw from verses that Jesus was God and was not God? Does His dying ejaculation on the cross (Matthew 17:46; Mark 15:34) help us in any way to believe that Jesus was the prophesied Messiah of the Jews?"

4. "Again, do such instances as His cursing a fig tree; His upsetting the tables and seats and driving out with a

whip those who had entered the temple for religious purposes; drowning about two thousand pigs at Gadarene; and His conduct towards the Scribes and Pharisees, using the most opprobrious and abusive epithets, tend to prove an unimpeachable conduct? "

5. " Was it not until the year 325 at the First Council of Nice that the honour of a divine paternity was definitely conferred upon Jesus? "

6. " Do Mark and John say even a word about the birth and the early life of Jesus? Do not Matthew and Luke differ very widely in their accounts relating to His early life? "

7. " Could a child be actually begotten by something without body, parts, passions, boundaries, or material composition—by something exactly equivalent to empty space—by something so vast in extent that light, travelling ten billion times ten billion ages, would be no nearer the end of it than we are now—by something which, for want of room to move in, is, of necessity, utterly incapable of the slightest motion in any direction? "

8. " How is it that Matthew does not record anything relating to the activities of Jesus after the latter's return from Egypt? Matthew abruptly drops Jesus, and then just as abruptly reintroduces Him upon the stage at the age of thirty years, as a worker of miracles and as a preacher of what, to most Jews, seemed new and strange doctrines. Why this long silence? Is it credible that a person whose birth had been announced by the sudden appearance of a wonderful star in the eastern heaven and by many other remarkable phenomena; is it credible that a person whose birth had caused Herod and all Jerusalem to be troubled; is it credible that a person on whose account all the children of an entire city and of ' all the coasts thereon ' had been butchered—is it credible, we ask, that this person passed into oblivion so perfect that all His friends and neighbours, even those who knew all the circumstances of His birth, came to believe that He was Joseph's son? Is it

THE LEADING MOHAMMEDAN THEOLOGIANS AND PREACHERS OF ISFAHAN, PERSIA

TEKKÉ OF THE BEKTASHI DERWISHES

This brotherhood centre is located on the edge of the Mukattam hills near Cairo. It has a large cave and a beautiful garden and rest-house.

credible that for thirty years *this person neither said nor did anything worthy of notice?* "

9. " What is the meaning of the four animals in the Book of Daniel, seventh chapter? Fully explain."

10. " Why have Christians changed the Sabbath which the Fourth Commandment mentions? "

11. " What is the meaning of John 14:15; and which are the commandments of Jesus? "

12. " What is the meaning of Reverend? Why do people have that name? Explain from the New Testament."

13. " What is salvation? And what is sin? "

14. " What is the meaning of Son of God? "

15. " What is the meaning of Father, Son and Holy Spirit? "

It is perfectly evident from such questions where young educated Moslems find difficulty with Christian teaching and equally evident that they are studying the New Testament. What pathos of searching and what utter sincerity there is in such a letter as was shown me from one Moslem student to another, dated Lahore, January 19th, 1924:

" Dear S. A.—I apologize for my silence. . . . Only yesterday I was thinking that I had almost closed up the books of philosophy and that I should not neglect the food which supplies nourishment to the vital springs of my being. I mean to include in my studies the somewhat far-fetched subject of Buddhism, its value being that although ignoring God, it satisfies the highest conceivable aspirations of our soul. Buddhism thinks that the objects of their longings are too great to be in the power of God to bestow them.

" What are you doing in the cause of true insight and true knowledge? You must fight against the grossness that ' Our one true religion ' inculcates. For myself I have abandoned the task, finding all of them too much steeped in ignorance

and prejudice; and then secondly I have not too much courage left.

"Christ is to me the emblem of purity, childlike simplicity and immeasurable tolerance—to compare others to Him, much less to give them precedence, is blasphemy; a darkness of the soul which one ought to shrink from. Oh God! Give me power to walk in the path of the Lord.

"I have recently gone through an article by a Moslem in which he represents Akbar as liking anything but Islam, and he attributes it to the mental debt which he owed to his constant associates; himself being unable to decide.

"Yours, M. H."

Note that Mohammed is not even mentioned in this letter!

"Moslem India is in a very real sense an unoccupied field." This quotation from the Jerusalem findings still expresses the situation in terms none too strong. It is true of India as a whole and is true of many of its provinces, and especially of the masses in the great cities. The opportunity and the need in cities like Bombay, Lucknow, Haidarabad, Delhi, Lahore, Calcutta, and Madras is evident to any one who will visit the Moslem quarters, read their press, or study the terrible social conditions that obtain. Yet at nearly all of the many conferences held the answer was unequivocal—that, if not always in the educational programme and in social service, Moslems were neglected in the work of evangelization. At the meeting of the National Christian Council held subsequent to our first visit in 1924, attention was called to the fact that "out of a total of 5,925 foreign workers in India, Burma, and Ceylon it is doubtful if there are more than a dozen who have received special training for work among the followers of Mohammed."

The unoccupied areas of Bengal and Northeast India are largely Mohammedan, and the most neglected community, especially in all the large cities, is the educated Moslem, than whom there is none more accessible.

But the vast majority are still illiterate. Their need is the greater. "*The Moslems of India are a backward class,*" says the census report, and therefore should appeal to our sympathy and help in a special way. They are "a great way off," and therefore should move us to compassion. Their Hindu neighbours are challenging them to a new educational program and to social reform. Mr. C. V. P. Shivam addressed an open letter on this subject to the *Indian Social Reformer* (June 26th, 1924), wherein he said:

"When it is borne in mind that, whereas enthusiasm for social reform has found enough scope for work in Hinduism, Islam has all these years been eating its head off, the statement recently issued by Moulana Shaukat Ali, President of the Khalifat Committee, cannot but evoke the keen interest of all social reformers. Just as we cannot expect much progress in political reform, without simultaneous progress in social reform, so, too, we cannot expect real unity between the Hindus and Moslems without simultaneous advance in social reform among both these sister communities. The Hindus have yet got much superstition to be cast off, in spite of the progress they have so far made. But the conditions obtaining among our Moslem brethren of the present day are still worse.

"The suggestion made by Maulana Shaukat Ali that every mosque must establish and conduct a school to teach the Moslem boys and girls, is quite in keeping with the famous exhortation of the Prophet of the Faithful to 'seek knowledge, even if it is found in China.' It is really a monumental shame to the Moslems of India that they have

so long allowed themselves to be indifferent towards this vital necessity of all those who are proud of calling themselves the followers of the Faithful Prophet. The enormity of this crime is so great that, even to-day, the Moslems are styled a backward community in the matter of education."

Moslems themselves are conscious of this condition, but a community does not easily change its habits or overcome the handicap of centuries. Fifteen Mohammedan members of the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly recently presented these facts and figures:

"Of 189 Indians in the Civil Service only 25 are Moslems; of 159 in the Judicial Service, only 25; of 73 in the Medical Service, only 6; of 75 in the Police Service, only 2; from a total of 1,676 in all the Superior Government positions, only 215 were Moslems" (*The Statesman,* Calcutta, June 21, 1924).

Not only is the Moslem community backward because it is tardy in education and consequently largely illiterate, but it is also conscious of a deeper need. The ethical standards of Arabia in the seventh century no longer satisfy. There are earnest voices in the press and on the platform eagerly advocating the abolition of the veil, purdah, polygamy and child-marriage.

India offers large opportunity for missions, but there is a crying need for specially trained workers. A knowledge of Arabic, even if only of its fundamentals, enormously increases the ability and efficiency of those who desire to win Moslems in India. This is due not only to the fact that Arabic is read and spoken in India by many Moslems, far more than we think, but to the fact that all Mohammedan vernaculars are

steeped in Islamic vocabulary and thought, and that only those who know Urdu or Arabic, better still both, can intelligently read the manuals of devotion and prayer prepared in diglot and triglot for the various language areas. The need of a glossary of Moslem terms, as used by themselves, in Bengali, Tamil, Gujerati, Malayalam, and other languages is self-evident. When educated Tamil and Bengali-speaking Christians try to read Moslem literature in their own language, they find much of it unintelligible.

Special preparation should include a knowledge of Islamism and of Urdu, the *lingua franca* all over India. In Northern India this is fully realized, but in Southern India some are still unconvinced of the necessity. The other side is presented in a letter written by the Rev. A. Hickling, of the London Missionary Society, Chika, Dellapure. He sums up the whole situation admirably:

"Work among Mussulmans involves, in my opinion, special preparation both of missionaries and Indian Christians who undertake it. The attitude of mind needed for effective presentation of the Gospel to Hindus can only be gained by careful preparation, and those who have had this preparation can only very rarely re-adapt themselves to the absolutely different presuppositions of the Mussulman. Argument, whether open or tacit, is unavoidable in both cases, and the arguments that are of the greatest weight in the one case have very small value in the other. Work among Moslems in India means considerable familiarity with their theology, long study of Arabic and Persian, and the use of Urdu as the vernacular. It is of simply no use presenting the Gospel to Mussulmans in the Hindu vernaculars. The terms used simply do not touch them.

"I have personally learned Urdu sufficiently well to put

the Gospel before Mussulmans, but I am at a great disadvantage by not knowing the things taken for granted by them. It is not enough for the missionaries to Hindus to learn Urdu, and I would earnestly press for the special appointment of men for this work. The apparent urgency of the problems of pantheism and idolatry have led us to concentrate upon Hinduism. The problem of supreme urgency, however, is the great obstacle to the claims of Christ presented by militant Islam, and further delay by the Church to deal with it will, in my opinion, be fraught with the greatest danger."

There are other reasons that make the task urgent. At our conference group in Madras, in 1928, it was resolved " that it is our opinion that the Indian Church should set apart some of its members for definite Christian work among the Moslems of Madras Presidency, and we believe that this will help to clarify and crystallize the theology and strengthen the life of the Indian Church." Similar opinion was expressed at Bangalore and at Madura by experienced leaders of the indigenous Church. That Church, in its effort to win Moslems, will gain spiritual vigour, intellectual clearness and avoid the pitfalls of pantheistic syncretism and compromise; and through the courageous leadership of such converts from Islam will hold fast, tenaciously, the great truths of theism and be moved with a passion for evangelism.

XVII

ISLAM IN SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE

ONLY in the Balkans, on the narrow streets of Rustchuk, under the orchards of the island of Ada Kaleh, in the mosque courts of Serajevo, and among the peasants of Dobruja can the real old-fashioned Turk now be found. Stambul has become a hybrid city; Angora is westernized; women have abandoned the veil and clamour for the vote; the cinema, music-hall and election-booth are crowded with men in straw hats and bowlers. Beyond the Dardanelles is new Turkey; if you desire the old, seek it in Europe.

It was our privilege, after attending the conferences on the Christian message to the Jews at Budapest and Warsaw, to visit Rumania, Bulgaria and Yugo-Slavia. The Moslems of these lands are minorities on the map of Europe, but deserve more attention than they have hitherto received.

Sarajevo—with its forty mosques, its *tekkes,* endowed religious schools for the training of *qadis* and *muftis,* its bookshops and presses, its veiled women, latticed-windows, fez-wearing youth and grey-bearded amulet venders—leaves an indelible impression of an old-time Islam not yet "on trek." The same is true of such centres as Bazarjic and Silistra in Rumania and the villages along the lower Danube. The stolid Pomak peasants of Bulgaria and the gypsy tribes, whose children we saw reading the Arabic Koran in the

day-schools in the suburbs of Sofia and Philippopolis, are evidence that in southeastern Europe conservative Islam still retains its hold on the hearts of the people. It is true that there are movements toward reform and signs of progress, but the general impression remains that for the most part these minority groups continue static, like little islands of Asiatic conservatism in the midst of the swift currents and rising tides of European life.

Poland, Hungary and the Czechoslovak Republic. In one of the public parks in Warsaw there is an equestrian statue of John Sobieski, the Polish king who turned back the Turks from the gates of Vienna on September 12th, 1683. The Moslems, routed and demoralized, fled precipitately, not resting until they arrived before the walls of Buda. The Sixteen Years' War began and ended with the liberation of the whole of Hungary from the Turkish yoke. In 1686 Buda was retaken by Charles of Lorraine, and its last Pasha, Abd-ur-Rahman, fell, fighting heroically, on the spot where the University Press stands to-day. Hungary has no Moslems, but in Poland there is still a remnant of six thousand in a population of some twenty-eight million. They are to be found in Lithuania, Wolnya, Bialystock, Novogrodeck, and South Little Poland (formerly Galicia). Their chief settlements are in Wilno and Grodno, the former is their educational centre. In race, most of them are Poles, but some are descendants of Turco-Tatars who came to Lithuania in 1410-1432. Some belong to ancient noble families; *e. g.,* Najman Bey and the so-called Khans.

The Moslems of Poland are bilingual. Many speak Turkish as well as Polish; they write and print the Polish language in Arabic characters. A

considerable literature exists, and they publish one or two periodicals.

In the fourteenth century there were over 200,000 Moslems in Poland. At one time they furnished 10,000 cavalry; their number has, however, steadily diminished. The official census, however, gives 1,107 Moslems for Lithuania alone in 1923. At Biala, before the War, there was a beautiful ancient mosque, which the Russians burnt on their retreat in 1915.

In accordance with old Russian statute, which is no longer in force, all spiritual matters of Mohammedans in western Russia and Poland were settled, in the last instance, by a *mufti* who resided in the Crimea. Parishes were governed by *Imams,* who also kept registers of births, deaths, etc. Muezzins took the services in the mosques. Owing to the impossibility of communication with the Crimea during the War, the Mohammedans in Poland remained without a spiritual head, although the former organization had been retained. Now they are independent. The *Imams* receive subsidies from the State Treasury, and usually own small plots of land adjoining the mosques. Subsidies are also granted by the State to the lower clergy.[1] A Moslem congress was held at Wilno in December, 1925.

The *mufti* at Wilno, who is the head of the Moslems, is Dr. Szynkienvicz. The duties of the *mufti* are said to be representing the Moslem community before the Government, the restoring of the mosques destroyed during the War, and the reorganizing of education.

There are some sixty well-built mosques for public worship. The Polish Moslems are Sunnis of the Hanafi sect; the dervish orders exist, but are not active.

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[1] *Polish Handbook,* Warsaw, 1923.

There is no mosque in Warsaw. The lofty minaret near the St. Lazarus Hospital, crowned by a crescent, is not Islamic, but was built by a Polish count as an architectural curiosity to grace his gardens. Moslem worship is conducted on the second floor of a house (Browarna Street, No. 15). There are a few Turkish Moslems in Warsaw, mostly recent arrivals, and some hundreds of Tatar-Moslems. An old Moslem cemetery is found off Mlynarka Street, close to the evangelical cemetery. The other, a war cemetery, contains some six hundred graves, with Polish and Arabic inscriptions; in one case the whole of Surah 112. The dates on the graves are 1890-1912. Polish Moslems seem to be in close touch with their brethren in Russia. The Korans used are printed at Orenburg and Kazan.

All students of Islam know the names of the distinguished Hungarian Oriental scholars, Vambery and Goldziher, and their great contribution to the scientific study of Mohammedanism. Few, however, have heard of the Moslem saint of Budapest, Gul Baba, whose festival occurs on April 3rd every year. The eighty pilgrims that gathered this year to light their candles and read the Koran under the dome of the grave, were not Turks, but nearly all Bosnian Mohammedans—a last remnant of Islam in Hungary's capital.

Gul Baba was a Turk and belonged to the Bektashi Order; his name is now said to signify "Father of Roses," and there is a legend connecting him with Rozsadomb (Rose Hill), in the vicinity of Buda. This, however, is probably a corruption of his real name, which may have been Kul Baba, or Bald Father, because he was bald. He died under tragic circumstances, in 1541, in the great mosque, just before the city fell into the hands of the Christians. At that time

the mosque was the ancient Coronation Church, and by special treaty he was buried in the present tomb, perpetually consecrated to his memory. Many ancient churches in Hungary were for a time used as mosques, but afterwards restored.

At Pecs, for example, there is an old Roman Catholic cathedral with a subterranean chapel dating from the third century. Transformed into a mosque for many centuries during Turkish rule, the crescent still remains on its dome, but on the adjoining minaret is the cross. The crescent, surmounted by a cross, is seen on many old church edifices in Rumania and Hungary.

A curious community of quasi-Mohammedans exists in Styria, on the border of Austria; they are the descendants of old Turkish soldiers who made inroads at the end of the fifteenth century. All of them are now Germanized and nominally Roman Catholic, but their names are still Mohammedan, such as Suleiman, Ali, etc.

Rumania. There are over 200,000 Moslems in greater Rumania out of a total population of 17,153,932.[2] Since the War, Rumania includes Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transylvania, etc. Bessarabia has now no considerable population. The Turkish-speaking Gagautzi are not Moslems, but Christians. They are of Tatar origin, and after settling in Bulgaria, they followed the Russian armies, on the Peace of Adrianople in 1829, and colonized Southern Bessarabia. They belong to the Greek Orthodox faith and are backward in culture.

[2] Statistics of population for this and other countries mentioned are taken from the latest available source, *The Near East Year Book,* 1927.

The Moslems of Rumania are found all along the Danube from Orsova, on the western border, to Constanza on the Black Sea. Important centres are: the Island of Ada Kale (wholly Moslem), Calafatu, Giurgevo, Tutrakan, Silistra, Vidin, Nekopolis, Braila, Galatz, Tulcea, Babadag, Bazarjic, Majidia and Constanza. They are specially numerous east of Bucarest in the Dobruja area. In the capital there are few Moslems, although they have a small mosque in the public park used on the great feast-days only.

The vast majority, about 178,000, are of Turkish origin and speak Turkish. The Nogais of Dobruja came from Bessarabia in the seventeenth century. Some sixty thousand are of Aryan origin, gypsies, who came as serfs with the Tatars in 1350. The tomb of Sari-Saltyk, the Moslem saint who first preached Islam, in 1263, as far as Ochrida and the borders of Albania, is at Babadag. It is a place of pilgrimage.

Islam is well organized in Rumania, and its religious schools receive government subsidy. There are four *Muftis,* viz.: at Tulcea, Constanza, Silistra and Bazarjic. There are clubs for "Young Turks," an active press and Moslem fraternities. Very few expressed approval of the radical reforms of Angora. It was significant that all the clocks in all the mosques we visited pointed to Arabic time, and that the *miswak* (wooden tooth-brush of tradition) was on sale, as in the towns of Nejd. Such straws show the way the wind blows. Islam is very conservative in the villages of Rumania.

Majidia, on the main railway between Constanza and Bucarest, is the educational centre, even as Silistra is that of the press. We visited the school for the training of religious leaders. One hundred and fifty

pupils enrolled, boarding department for ninety, and an eight years' course of study in Arabic, Moslem Law and Tradition. There were also primary and secondary schools for boys and girls. All of the boy pupils wear the fez and turban—like little mullahs—and they intone the Koran with great enthusiasm but little comprehension of the meaning of the words. Discipline and school equipment are in every way excellent. The teachers in the girls' schools, which follow a curriculum approved by the Government, are many of them Christian Rumanian women. Polygamy still exists, but is fast waning. The pressure of a Christian environment is felt in other ways. Although no missions to Moslems exist in Rumania, there are a few, from time to time, who become Christian. On May 12th the Patriarch at Bucarest publicly baptized twelve adult Moslems by immersion. The daily press made "copy" of it and gave an illustration of the scene in the cathedral on their front page. Bezarjic, just near the Bulgarian frontier, has ten mosques and several small schools of a type similar to those at Majidia.

Bulgaria. There is to-day no country more free in the Balkan Peninsula than Bulgaria, but this freedom was purchased at a great price. "When you think," writes a Bulgarian Christian, "that for five hundred years the Turks ruled over us, you can easily see that they have left a deep impression on our politics and public and private life. Our songs, our early poems, our whole life was simply saturated with the habits and customs of our conquerors. It will be a long time before we free ourselves from all these things."

According to the last available census returns (1920), the Moslems of Bulgaria number 690,734, or eighteen per cent. of the total population. Earlier

statistics give larger figures, and there had been a further slight decrease by emigration. They are found scattered everywhere, but chiefly in northern Bulgaria, in the extreme east and on both sides of the railroad from Sofia to Varna. The chief centres are the following: Philoppopolis, Eski-Jumaia, Rustchuk, Varna, Shumen, Sliven, Stara-Zagora, Deli Orman, Svishtov, Razgrad, Krichim, Nevrokop, Gradeshintsa, Djuma-i-Bala, Kustendil, Aitos, Yambol, Bourgas, and Karocat. Racially they can be divided into three distinct groups. The great majority are of the Turco-Tatar race, who came originally as conquerors across the Volga, between the seventh and thirteenth centuries, and their language is Turkish. A tenth of the total number, some say 100,000, are Pomaks, who speak Bulgarian and were "converted" in the sixteenth century by the sword. Most of them are old-fashioned labourers toiling on the land, while some possess large farms. They are found chiefly in Southern Bulgaria in the districts of Pashmakli, Mastanlisko, Shepino, Razlok and Nevrokop. A third group are the gypsies, said to number 98,000, of Aryan origin, who use their own tongue, mixed with many Turkish words, especially in their religious vocabulary.

The Moslems of Bulgaria, as of Rumania, are *Sunnis* of the *Hanafi* sect. Shiahs, however, are found in the villages of Deli Orman, near Razgrad and near Rustchuk, where the Bektashi dervishes have *tekkes*. Although the Turkish Government has suppressed the dervish orders in Turkey, here they persist and are active, especially the Shathali, Gulshani, Naqshabandi, and Mawlawi orders. Their special devotional literature is in evidence in the mosques, and also the *alfiya* or one-thousand-bead rosary; at Rustchuk we saw a

beautiful one lying beside the mosque pulpit, each bead of polished wood, the size of a pigeon's egg. The *tekkes* visited were spotlessly clean, and had the usual furniture, sheepskins, rosaries, candlesticks, drums and flutes. On the walls were memorial certificates of saints and genealogies of the Order.

There is no *rais-ul-ulema* in Bulgaria. For many centuries the Sheikh-ul-Islam in Constantinople invested the various *muftis*. At present the grand-*mufti* for the whole of Bulgaria resides at Sofia, and has his office near the main mosque. There are sixteen official *muftis* for the provinces and twenty additional *muftis*. The Koran schools are well organized, and supported by the Wakf-council. According to official statistics there are 1,294 Turkish schools in Bulgaria, *i. e.*, schools where the Arabic Koran and the Turkish language are taught. In addition, there are twenty secondary schools for the training of religious leaders.

Shumen (Shumla, in Turkish) is the intellectual centre of Islam in Bulgaria. Formerly it had forty-seven mosques, now from twelve minarets only sounds the call to prayer. In this town of 25,000 the largest mosque, called Tumboli Jama, built in 1648, contains the grave of a famous saint, Hassan Pasha. Shumen was taken by the Turks in 1388, and is still a strategic army base. Three times the Russians were driven back here—in 1774 under Romanzo, in 1810 under Kaminski, and in 1828 under Wittgenstein. In 1878 it was taken from the Turks. To-day it is a garrison town. Brovadio, near Shumen, has four mosques and an old Turkish fort. Everywhere there are signs of an age-long struggle between the Crescent and the Cross.

The Moslem press is active and enterprising. One

printing establishment occupies two stone buildings, has three rotary presses run by a Deisel engine, and printed 40,000 books, in addition to newspapers, last year. This was all in Turkish. The press alone does job work in Bulgarian. Thirty Moslem workmen and several Jewesses are employed in this press. Of the products of this and other presses in Bulgaria mention is made later.

The Moslems of Bulgaria enjoy civil and religious liberty. They hold positions in government offices and in administration. Among two hundred and forty-six delegates elected to the Sobranie (Parliament) in 1923, ten were Moslems, but not one was a Pomak. On Sundays every other school is closed, but the Turkish schools are open, although their shops must be closed by the Sabbath law. The people are remarkably friendly. Literacy is extending. All the younger generation know how to read and write. The material and intellectual progress of Bulgaria is evident in many ways. Bible Society reports show that the sale of Scriptures to Moslems is rapidly increasing. Nevertheless, neither the orthodox nor the small evangelical groups and missions have yet seriously undertaken the evangelization of the Moslems in Bulgaria. There is a wide open door, especially for Christian literature.

European Turkey. There is a wrong impression that, subsequent to the Balkan Wars and their defeat in the World War, the Turks were at last turned " bag and baggage out of Europe." On the contrary, with the reorganization of the Turkish Republic in 1923, when the number of vilayets was increased to seventy-two, no less than six distinct areas remain as Turkey-in-Europe. The latest statistics give the population of these vilayets as follows:

A FEW MOHAMMEDAN PERIODICALS IN ENGLISH OR GERMAN

These are edited by Indian Moslems, and with few exceptions are published in India. The *Moslemische Revue* appears at Berlin; the *Islamic Review* at Woking (London); the *Moslem Sunrise* at Chicago; and the *Muslim* at Singapore.

THE GRAVE OF SIR SEYYID AHMED AT ALIGARH, INDIA

Born in 1818 and died in 1898, he led in reform movements and founded the Aligarh Moslem University. In the centre of the arch a Koran quotation is inscribed: "His name is Ahmad." Other inscriptions are in Urdu.

	Area	*Population*
Constantinople	3,370 sq. km.	1,011,000
Adrianople	6,075 "	118,350
Kirkler Ili	4,580 "	50,380
Chatalja	2,025 "	31,350
Gallipoli	1,350 "	38,880
Rodosto	5,420 "	20,140
	22,820 sq. km.	1,270,100

If we subtract from this total 500,000, as estimated number of Jews, Greeks, Armenians and foreigners in Constantinople, Adrianople, and the villages, we have a total of 770,100 Moslems in European Turkey; this is more than the total number of Moslems in Bulgaria. Their influence, also, because of the prestige of Constantinople, and its past history, its press, and its commerce, is far beyond that of any of the minorities already mentioned. Angora to-day controls Constantinople, and not vice versa, and this fact is bound to have its reaction on the Mohammedans of the Balkan States.

Turkish primary education is now made obligatory and gratuitous by the State. The old *medressehs* were abolished in 1924. Co-education is common even in secondary schools. The University Centre is Constantinople with five faculties: law, letters, science, medicine, theology. Technical education of high grade is provided in other schools in or near Constantinople. The deposition of the last Caliph and the resolution of the National Assembly on March 2nd, 1924, abolishing the Caliphate, resulted in " secularizing " the Republic. All the Islamic schools were closed and the dervish orders suppressed. Under the new constitution the separation of Church and State has been

made complete, at least on paper. Radical changes have resulted, especially in the status of women. Polygamy is abolished, women are given equal rights in the matter of marriage and divorce. A new civil code (Swiss) and a new penal code (Italian) have been adopted. The old Moslem ecclesiastical courts are abolished. All these startling changes are reflected in and broadcasted by the Turkish press of Constantinople. Some newspapers are published in French by Moslem editors, such as *L'Echo de Turquie* and *L'Akcham,* but the more important are in Turkish.

In 1925 a law was passed adopting the Western calendar and Western time, based on the meridian of Greenwich. European Turkey is thus setting the pace for the backward Turks in Europe!

Greece, Cyprus and Rhodes. In conformity with the Greek-Turkish Convention at Lausanne, January 30th, 1923, there took place " the obligatory exchange of Turkish citizens of Orthodox Greek religion with the exception of the Greek inhabitants of Constantinople and of the Moslem population of Occidental Thrace." By this arbitrary and cruel regulation, 360,000 Moslem exiles were transported, between 1923 and 1925; and it worked with even more hardship for the Greeks. The result was that the total number of Mohammedans in Greece is now less than 180,000; they are found mostly in Western Thrace, Xanthi, Gumuljina and Dedeagatch; also a few Albanians on the border.

Before we turn to Albania and Jugo-Slavia, mention should be made of two other small groups of Moslems.

In Cyprus (occupied by Great Britain since 1878 and annexed in 1914), out of a population of 310,709, there are 61,422 Moslems, nearly all of Turkish origin.

The Moslems are *Sunni* of the *Hanafi* rite, have four religious tribunals, and have three representatives on the Legislative Council. The Moslem community, according to a British authority, has accepted British rule with more dignity and loyalty than the Cypriots. The Turkish language has precedence over the Greek in government *gazettes* and documents, and the speeches of members in Council are translated into both Turkish and Greek; also in the law courts and public functions Moslem dignitaries have precedence.

On the island of Rhodes and the Dodecanese group, occupied by Italy in 1912 and ceded by the Treaty of Lausanne (1923), there are 12,262 Moslems in a total population of 100,108. Of these, 7,600 reside on Rhodes, the remainder on Cos. As Italian citizens, religious freedom is guaranteed to Moslems and Christians alike by royal decree (Oct. 15th, 1925).

Albania. "The most desultory student of Balkan politics is aware," says Margaret Hasluck, "that three religions co-exist in Albania, viz.: the Roman Catholic in the north, Mohammedan in the centre, and Greek Orthodox in the south. But not every one seems aware that the Mohammedans are further sub-divided into orthodox Moslems (*Sunnis*), who inhabit central Albania, and Shiah sectarians of the Bektashi religious order, who live chiefly in the south. Otherwise certain writers could scarcely have stigmatized the recent insurrection as a crusade of Christians against Moslems: in point of fact, it was a rebellion of the liberal, progressive, Catholic Orthodox, and Bektashis combined against the hidebound, reactionary *Sunnis* of Ahmed Zogu's party."

The *Sunnis,* however, are numerically in the majority both in the north and in central Albania. Out of a

total population of 817,460 there are 560,348, or 71%, Moslems. Of these, 160,000 live in the northern province, 250,000 in central Albania, and about 160,000 in southern Albania. The urban centres where Islam is strong are: Koritza, with 5,464 Moslems in a population of 23,000; Tirana, 8,000 in 10,000, and Vlora, 3,000 in 4,900.

Islam entered Albania through the efforts of the dervish missionary Sari Saltyh, who came from Macedonia about 1260 A. D.; he is still regarded as one of the great saints, and his tomb is a place of pilgrimage. The Turkish conquest under Murad, 1423 to 1466, completed the Islamization. Albania, once Moslem, furnished Turkey not only with troops but with Grand Viziers and Pashas, among whom was Mohammed Ali of Egypt. In addition to the Albanian Moslems, there are emigrants from Serbia and Roumania, as well as a considerable number of gypsies who are Mohammedans.

Since 1879 the Albanians write their languages in the latin characters, and print even their religious books in it. This innovation was characterized by the Moslem authorities of Turkey as *kufr,* infidelity, but has carried the day. Islam is not the religion of the State. The name of the Caliph has long disappeared from public prayer. Nevertheless, the *qadis* and *muftis* are nominated and supported from State funds. A school for their training exists at Berat. Mosques are numerous; for example, there are thirty-four in the fanatical *Sunni* town, Elbassan; so are the dervish monasteries or *tekkes.* The Bektashi order alone counts forty-three, one writer says sixty, of these fraternity houses. There is no doubt that this order is to-day a powerful factor in Albanian social life and

politics. Outwardly the laity of the Bektashis are undistinguishable from orthodox Moslems. The derwishes wear tall rigid hats of white felt. Their teaching is that of the Shiah sect, but they are lax in their formal prayers and also in abstention from wine. This greater freedom, and especially their friendliness to Christians, is attractive to the Albanians, who love liberty and despise discipline.

It is because of this entering wedge of Bektashi tolerance and their efforts at social and moral reform, that Albania offers a special opportunity for Moslem evangelization. Some years ago the American missionary Erickson spoke of Albania as " the key to the Moslem world." Where are the hands of faith to grasp it and enter now?

Yugo-Slavia. The Mohammedan minorities of Yugo-Slavia form the majority of Moslems in Southeastern Europe. According to the latest available government statistics there are in this country 1,337,687 persons of Moslem faith. A study of the map showing the religions of the country proves that these Mohammedan minorities in a total population of 12,017,323 are much inter-mixed with the Christian Serbian element, especially in what was formerly Bosnia and Herzegovina.

In the old Bosnia-Herzegovina part of Jugo-Slavia the Moslems form nearly a third of the total population. South Serbia has 705,554 Mohammedans, and Montenegro 22,856. The entire population of Jugo-Slavia is about 12,000,000. This means, therefore, that over twelve per cent. of this nation are Moslems. Nearly 800,000 of these Moslems speak Serbian, and are representatives of the pure Serbian type, the so-called Dinaric.

In the geographical distribution of the population in Jugo-Slavia it is noticeable that the districts populated by the Mohammedan minorities are the richest and most fertile parts of South Serbia. This is due to two causes. The first was the Ottoman invasion and conquest, which naturally took the best lands; and the second was the emigration of the Serbs and a section of the Albanians northwards into South Hungary. The Christian element became subordinate to the Moslem who held control of the commerce and craft in the towns. That is why even to-day Christian businessmen and craftsmen are rare in the towns of South Serbia.

Dr. N. Kuzmany, of Sarajevo, remarks:

" The Moslems of Bosnia and Herzegovina call themselves ' Turks,' although they are of the same race as their Orthodox and Catholic fellow-countrymen, *i. e.*, Serbian, and do not have any knowledge of the Turkish language. In this half-Oriental country, faith is considered as a main criterion of nationality. So, up to the present time, the class of landlords, numbering about 10,000 families, consists of ninety-one per cent. Moslems, and they have been for centuries the leaders of the Moslem population. These landowners, bearing the hereditary title of '*Beg*' or '*Aga,*' signifying nobility and gentry (perhaps the only instance of Moslem nobility by birth), used to lease their estates by means of tenantship. Their tenants, or *Kmet,* numbering about 95,000 families, were Christians, seventy-three per cent. of whom were of the Orthodox faith. They had to give their landlord the *mak,* generally one-third of the crop in kind. These conditions were wholly abolished in October, 1918, by decree of the new Yugo-Slavian Government, which pledged at once to give the land-owners a full indemnity. Payments under this arrangement began in October, 1921."

At present there is everywhere religious liberty, and although there are certain indications of a Moslem revival of *religious* interest after the War, they still lag behind the Christians in literacy and other signs of social progress. There are large numbers of Mohammedan farmers to whom the iron plough is still unknown, and who still use the primitive wooden instrument. In the towns, the Moslems are in the majority, and this gives the smaller towns their almost Oriental character. The back streets of Sarajevo and Mostar remind one of the villages in Anatolia during the reign of Abdul Hamid. In Bosnia-Herzegovina the total number of children attending school (1924-5) was as follows: Catholic, 21,078; Orthodox, 31,088; Moslem, 14,318. Illiteracy among Moslems is said to be as high as 85%. The educated minority, however, with the aid of the Government, are putting forward a new programme. In Sarajevo is a high school receiving State support. It was founded forty years ago and is called, in Serbian, *Sheriatzka Sudatchka Skola.* Its five-year course, after four years of secondary school training, qualifies for the office of judge, or *kadi.* Instruction is in Serbian, Turkish and Arabic; the latter predominates. We saw in use an Arabic textbook on the Mohammedan law of marriage, published at Sarajevo by one of the professors. There is also in the same city a *Sheriatzka Gimnazia* founded in 1918, entirely supported by the Government. The course of study resembles the ordinary *Gimnazia,* but Arabic is taught from the first year to the last, and there are the usual courses in Moslem law and jurisprudence. In Southern Serbia, at Skoplye, there is a Moslem high school similar to that at Sarajevo. It was founded in 1924. The remainder of the seventy-six *madrassehs*

in Southern Serbia and the sixteen in Bosnia-Herzegovina are of a degenerate type and sadly need reform. A chair of Mohammedan law has just been founded at Belgrade University in connection with the faculty of law.

The dervish orders and the pilgrimages to Mecca are the chief points of contact with the wider world of Islam. Before the abolition of the Caliphate there was contact with Constantinople and eyes turned to that cynosure. Now the religious leaders are bewildered, unwilling to follow Angora and out of touch with Cairo or Mecca. However, it is a sign of the times that Mohammed Abdu's Koran commentary was translated into Serbian, and printed at Sarajevo. The Qadari, Rira'i Naqshabandi and Mevlawi dervishes have their *tekkes* in the great centres. The Bektashis maintain one or two in Sarajevo and elsewhere, but are not popular.

"In all these lands of blood and tears, of age-long conflict and unrest, the Church has not yet set out to win the Moslem minorities by love and sacrifice, although, as in the case of the Bulgarian Pomaks, she has sometimes unwisely tried to force them back to the faith from which they were forcibly perverted five hundred years ago. The whole story of religion in the Balkan lands is one of tragic harshness, intolerance and suspicion. The Serbo-Croatian Moslems of Jugo-Slavia whose '*Begs*' represent the old Bosnian feudality, threw in their lot with Islam because, as Manichean heretics, life was made too hard for them by the persecutions of Catholic dynasts. Where the Turks held sway in the past, the same heavy government restrictions as in Turkey proper were placed on any effort to evangelize the Moslems of Europe. To-day, with a new régime and a new liberty, in all of these countries, there

has come to the Church an opportunity beyond any she has known."

There is no doubt that, in spite of the outward appearance of an Islam decked in the garb of the past and the reactionary influence of an illiterate majority, a new era has dawned. The soul of a people has been stirred to new life. Nothing can hold back the economic progress of the Balkan States, so rich in natural resources, except war, and of this they themselves are weary. May we not hope, therefore, in the words of a British writer, that " increased knowledge of themselves and of one another will play its part in bringing all these States together and leading them to the only goal that will make for the permanent peace and prosperity of the peninsula—a Balkan Federation "?

The discontent of a new nationalism, the criticism of existing institutions and the improvement of communications, the new desire for popular and even compulsory education—all these are prophetic of new opportunity for evangelism. With political freedom there has also come a desire for religious liberty. We witnessed little of the intolerance and fanaticism on the part of the Moslems that is supposed to be characteristic.

The press is beginning to exert its influence in all the languages used by Moslems in this area, namely, Turkish, Arabic, Serbian, Bulgarian, Rumanian and Albanian. Three alphabets are in use, Arabic, Cyrilic (Russian) and Latin. A larger per cent. of the Moslem population is literate in the Balkans than in most other Moslem lands: in Rumania and Albania twenty per cent., in Bulgaria thirty per cent., and in Yugo-Slavia fifteen per cent. Although constant wars and

the general backwardness of the Moslems as a class have prevented rapid development of the press, to-day no less than nineteen Moslem periodicals are published: eleven in Turkish, two in Albanian, two in French and four in Serbian. The Koran was recently (1921) translated into Albanian and printed in Latin character. On the paper cover is a vignette of Christ and the Emmaus disciples, but entitled "Mohammed with Abu-Bekr and Khalid." We found no less than six different Turkish Koran translations on sale in one shop in Philippopolis. These new translations and the revival of a literature in defence of Islam indicate that the battle of the books is on. The British and Foreign Bible Society, with its three agencies at Varna, Philippopolis and Belgrade, brings thousands of Moslems into contact with the Bible. Many earnest men, however, as they read, are longing for some Philip to interpret. There is great need for Christian literature, but still more need for Christian life. We visited a *mufti* and found him reading a marked copy of the New Testament. Asked why he had marked certain passages, he replied: "These are the portions of the book where I found that Christian conduct does not agree with the teachings of Jesus."

What is to be the future of these Moslem millions who live in Europe and yet are not of Europe? In no other continent are the Cross and the Crescent in such close proximity as they have been for centuries in this part of the world. Here is a great neglected field. Protestant missions exist and do some work among the Moslems, but qualified workers are few. The Orthodox and the Roman Catholic Churches lost their opportunity many decades since; will they seek it again? The cruelty of war has left its deep scars on the life

and literature of Turk and Christian alike. Only love can win a victory here. Islam in Southeastern Europe is on the defensive. Politically their cause is lost. The abolition of the Caliphate was a tragedy to these old-fashioned believers. Their star of hope does not shine above Angora. Sixteen translations and versions of the Arabic Koran into the vernaculars of the Balkan States may become a revelation of Islam's weakness, not its strength, to thoughtful men. In Southeastern Europe we are summoned not to win Moslems over to Christianity, but to win them back to Christianity. Their ancestors were members of the ancient churches. Their oldest heroes were Christian martyrs. The call of the blood is there. Dare we neglect such an opportunity?

GLOSSARY

(Unless otherwise indicated, the words are Arabic.)

'Adl—Al 'Adl.—Justice, the Just—One of the attributes of Allah.

'Afrît or *'Ifrît* (pl. *Afarit*).—A specially powerful and crafty species of *jinn.*

Ahmadiya.—The name of the adherents of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad of Qadian in the Punjab. Their beliefs in general are like those of other Moslems except in regard to Jesus Christ, who they say died in Kashmir, and Mirza Ghulam was an incarnation both of Mohammed and Jesus.

Allahu Akbar.—" God is greater," or " the Greatest." The battle-cry of Islam.

Allah.—The name of Supreme Deity. The one God who has ninety-nine names or attributes.

Anjuman Taraqqi-ad-Din.—(Urdu) Club or association for the advancement of religion, *i. e.,* Islam.

Anjuman.—(Urdu) A club or association.

Ahl-al-Hadith.—Literally, the people of Tradition, *i. e.,* the orthodox party in Islam.

Ahl-al-kitab.—The people of the Book, *i. e.,* the Jews, Christians, and some say the Zoroastrians.

Akhwan.—See *Ikhwan.*

Akhbar Qudsiya.—Traditions of God's words or dealings not found in the canonical Scriptures.

Azhar.—Al Azhar, the most ancient and celebrated Moslem theological school at Cairo. Founded in the tenth century.

Bait al-Maqdas.—The Holy House, *i. e.,* Jerusalem.

Bait-al-Mal.—The public religious treasury.

Bait-al-Zar.—The dwelling where a *Zar* ceremony takes place.

Batiniya.—As the term indicates, those who seek the *inner* and deeper significance of God's revelation in the Koran.

Begum.—(Urdu) Feminine form of Turkish *bey,* a princess or lady of high rank.

Bait-Allah.—The house of God, *i. e.,* the Kaaba at Mecca.

Bismillahi-arrahman-arrahim.—Introductory formula of each chapter but one in the Koran. It signifies: " In the name of Allah, the merciful and compassionate."

Bohras.—A sect of Shiah Mohammedans, mostly traders found in

Bombay presidency, but also scattered from Singapore to Zanzibar.

Boraq or *Buraq.*—"The Shining One," the fabulous animal on which Mohammed is supposed to have made his nocturnal journey to Paradise.

Caliph—Khalifah.—Title first given to the successors of Mohammed (pl. *Khulafa*). The Caliphate is called *Khilafa* in Arabic.

Chishti.—Mu'in-ad-Din Chishti (died 1236), founder of the Chishti order of derwishes in India.

Cufic.—Pertaining to Kufa, an old Arab city in Mesopotamia, where *Cufic,* one of the earliest forms of Arabic script, was invented.

Dar-al-'Ulum.—"The abode of Sciences." A term used for an Islamic school of higher theological education.

Derwish or *Darwish.*—A Persian word for a religious mendicant derived from the word *dar,* a door. One who goes from door to door, a *faqir.*

Dhu-al Qarnain.—"He of the Two Horns;" *i. e.,* Alexander the Great. He is so called in the Koran (Surah 18:82-96).

Ekklesia.—(Greek) The Church.

Farsis.—One of the many ethnological groups of Moslems in India. A Persian Moslem, or one descended from immigrants who came from Fars, in Persia.

Fiqh.—That branch of dogmatic theology in Islam which deals with practical duties. Jurisprudence.

Ghoul or *Ghul.*—A man-devouring demon of the woods. A species of *jinn.*

Goudia or *Kudija.*—(Egyptian colloquial) An assistant of the *Sheikha* at a *Zar* ceremony. Its derivation is obscure.

Goyîm.—(Heb.) Gentiles; all those not true Israelites.

Hadith Iláhi.—A divine tradition, *i. e.,* one that is attributed directly to God and not to one of the prophets.

Hadith Nabawi.—A tradition of the prophet, *i. e.,* Mohammed. These traditions (*Ahadith*) were collected two centuries after Mohammed's death and exist in six large standard collections, the most important being those of Muslim and Bukhari.

Hadith Qudsi.—A holy or sacred tradition (See Chapter IV).

Hadji or Hajji.—One who has made the Hajj, or pilgrimage.

Hashish.—(Arab-Persian) Literally, herbage. Indian hemp, an intoxicating preparation of *Cannabis Sativa.*

Hajj.—The pilgrimage to Mecca, incumbent on all adult Moslems who can afford the journey, once in their lives.

Hijra or *Hegira.*—The exodus or flight of Mohammed from Mecca to Medina, 1 A. H.=622 A. D.

Hizb.—A division of the Koran. Also special prayers or devotions used by the derwishes.

Huris or *Houris.*—The maidens of Paradise described in the Koran 2:23; 3:13, and elsewhere.

Ihram.—The sacred state or condition or dress required of the pilgrim before entering the territory of Mecca. Generally used of the two long white cloths that form the robe of the barefoot pilgrim.

Ijma'a.—One of the four *usul* or sources of Islamic teaching. The *agreement* of the learned among the people, or *quod semper ubique et ab omnibus acceptum est.*

Ikhwan.—"Brothers;" the word used of the devotees of the teaching of the Wahhabis, the Puritans of Central Arabia.

Imam.—The one who leads in prayer by standing in front of the rows of worshippers and indicates the ritual movements. Hence the chief of any mosque or Moslem community, or of Islam.

Injil.—Arabic form of the Greek word for the Gospel. One of the four books of Divine revelation which "came down." The others were the *Taurat,* the *Zabur* (psalms), and the Koran.

Isnad. (singular *Sanad*).—The list of narrators of any specific tradition. The chain of evidence that what is related goes back to Mohammed himself.

'Isa.—The Koran form of the name of Jesus our Lord.

Iqra' bismi rabika.—"Read or cry out in the name of thy Lord." One of the earliest verses of the Koran text addressed to Mohammed by the angel Gabriel.

Jami'at-i-Tabligh.—(Urdu) Society for preaching Islam.

Jami'a.—A large mosque, or the mosque especially used for the Friday preaching service.

Jinn or *Jann.*—Good and evil genii. A species of intelligent imperceptible beings, created of smokeless flame, between humankind and the angels who were created of clay and light. Mohammed was sent to them, as well as to mankind. All Moslems believe in their existence, power and influence on daily life.

Kashkul.—(Persian) A beggar's bowl or basket; also a collection of essays or poems.

Ka'aba.—The central shrine of Islam at Mecca. A cubical stone structure, covered with a costly curtain. Before Islam the Ka'aba was the Arabian pantheon.

Karamāt (singular, *Karamet*).—Favours shown by Allah to his saints. Miracles wrought at the tombs of *Welis,* or by them during their life-time.

Kafir—Kufr.—One who covers the truth. An infidel. *Kufr* is unbelief or infidelity.

Khawaja.—Persian *Khoja.*—a man of parts, a gentleman.

Khalifat.—(See Caliphate.)

Khanate.—(Turkish) The dominion or jurisdiction of a Khan or prince in Tartar countries.

Khojas.—A Moslem sect found chiefly in Western India and East Africa. The followers and devotees of H. H. the Agha Khan, who is their spiritual leader.

Khurunfish.—A street and quarter in Cairo celebrated because the Ka'aba-curtain (the so-called holy-carpet) was formerly manufactured there.

Koran or *Quran.*—Literally "the Reading." The sacred book of Islam, consisting of one hundred and fourteen chapters, revealed at various times to Mohammed and not collected together until after his death.

Li'an or *La'an.*—A form of divorce by imprecation; the husband swearing that his wife has been unfaithful.

Mahdi.—The rightly directed one, the coming Messiah. The Shiahs say he has appeared in the person of M. Abu'l Qasim; the Sunnis say he will appear at the end of the world.

Matn.—The actual text of a tradition apart from its *isnad* or chain of narrators.

Mashhur.—"Celebrated" or "well-known," *i. e.,* a tradition that is not disputed.

Mahmal.—A costly, covered-litter borne on a camel annually from Cairo and Damascus to Mecca as an emblem of royalty or respect at the time of the pilgrimage. Its origin dates from 1272.

Maulvi.—(Urdu) A Moslem teacher or leader.

Maktab.—A primary school.

Madrasa Illahiya.—A divinity school.

Masjid.—Mosque. Literally, a place of worship.

Malams.—(Corrupt plural form of Muallim.) A Moslem teacher.

Memens.—A Moslem sect in Kutch (India) forming a special social caste.

Mimbar or *Minbar.*—Pulpit in a mosque; derived from *Nabara,* to speak loud and distinctly.

Miswak.—A wooden tooth-brush made from a twig by bruising the fibres at one end.

Mihrab.—The niche of stone or wooden ornament in a mosque toward the meridian of Mecca, indicating the *Qibla,* or true direction for worship.

Mohammedans.—The followers of Mohammed; in Arabic it would be *Ahl-al-Sunna.* But modern Islam resents the word and prefers Moslems, that is, those who accept Islam.

Moslem.—The usual form in English of *Muslim,* plural *Muslimin,* those who accept Islam as their religion.

Moharrum.—"The forbidden or sacred." The first month of the Islamic year or the first ten days, of that month in which they commemorate the martyr-death of Hussain.

Muezzin.—One who calls to prayer from a minaret or in the mosque.

Mufti.—One who pronounces a *fatwa* or legal opinion; a canon lawyer.

Mullahs.—(Urdu) Teachers, religious teachers.

Musulman or *Musalman.*—Persian and Urdu form of the word Moslem.

Mujtahid (plural, *Mujtahidin*).—"One who strives" to attain a high position of scholarship in Islam. Equivalent to expert in theology and religion.

Muta'a.—Temporary marriage. A Shiah custom based upon earlier practice, repudiated by Omar.

Mutawalli.—A person endowed with authority. Both a legal term and used for the saint of saints in Sufi vocabulary.

Mirganiya or *Marganiya.*—An order of derwishes found especially in Upper Egypt and the Sudan.

Nabati.—Nabatean. South Arabian tribes of that name who reached a high stage of civilization before the time of Mohammed.

Naqshabandi.—An ascetic order of derwishes, the followers of Mohammed Naqshabandi, they are very numerous and widely scattered.

Nikāh.—Marriage. It is the term used in Moslem law, but it is no longer used in polite society.

Pir.—Persian word for Sheikh, elder or religious leader.

Purdah-nashin.—(Urdu) Women kept behind the curtain, *i. e.,* secluded.

Purdah.—(Urdu) The curtain or division in the home behind which the women-folk live.

Qarina.—The double of the human spirit, its mate of the opposite sex. A familiar spirit, devil or *jinn.* Probably connected with the ancient Egyptian belief in the *Ka* or double.

Qadhi.—A Moslem judge or interpreter of the law.

Qadari.—A derwish order instituted in A. H. 561 by Abd-ul-Qadir al Jilani, whose shrine is at Bagdad.

Qiyas.—Judgment by comparison. The fourth foundation of Islamic jurisdiction arrived at by deduction from the Koran and Hadith.

Qibla.—Opposite. The true direction for prayer; at first Mo-

A GROUP OF DERWISHES

The musical instruments of these derwishes, who are probably of the Bektashi order, are used to accompany the whirling dance; they are drums, tambourines and the flute. The position of the hands and the dishevelled hair are typical of the devotee.

AN ANCIENT MOSQUE AT KUSTENDIL, BULGARIA

This building is no longer used for worship but as a store-house. Bulgaria has many mosques that have fallen into decay.

hammed prayed toward Jerusalem, but afterwards the Kaaba at Mecca became the *qibla*.

Quddus.—Holy. The word is used once only of God in the Koran.

Qurbani.—Pertaining to *qurban*, or animal sacrifices.

Rasul.—Apostle or Messenger. One of the two hundred and one titles of Mohammed.

Sabil.—The road of God. Also used of a place where "the sons of the road," *i. e.*, the poor, receive alms or refreshment.

Sadaqa.—Alms, especially voluntary alms. Legal alms are called *Zakat*.

Salat (plural, *Salawat*).—The regular ritual prayer. Specially used of the five daily prayers, with their ablutions, prostrations, etc.

Sennusia or *Sannusia*.—A Moslem fraternity in North Africa. They follow Wahhabi teaching and are the Puritans of the Sahara Desert.

Seyyids.—Lords. The direct descendants of Mohammed through Hassan or Hussain.

Shari'at.—Canon law in Islam. This law, based on the Koran and tradition, regulates every detail of personal, family, and social life.

Sheikha.—Feminine of Sheikh. A woman distinguished for learning or a leader in religious rites, such as the Zar.

Sheikh.—An old man, a learned man, a leader in religion; also the head of an Arab tribe.

Sirat.—The pathway. *Sirat-al-Mustaqim*, the true road to God, the bridge to Paradise.

Sidi.—Corruption for *Seyyadi*—my Lord—a title of honour.

Sîn.—The letter corresponding to *S* in the Arabic alphabet.

Sunni (plural, *Sunnis*).—Those who accept the *sunna* of Mohammed. The orthodox Moslems as distinguished from the Shiahs and other sects.

Sunna.—A path, way or manner of life. Specifically what Mohammed did, said or permitted as model of conduct and religion for all his followers.

Sufic.—(Adj.) Pertaining to Sufism or Islamic mysticism.

Surah or *Surat* (plural, *Suwar*).— One of the chapters of the Koran. Literally, a row of stones in a wall.

Suhrawardi.—An order of derwishes.

Sufis.—Mohammedan mystics. From *Suf*, a woolen garment which they used to wear.

Talaq.—Divorce, or the sentence of divorce; also the chapter in the Koran which treats on this subject.

Tabar.—(Persian) A small ornamental battle-ax or hand weapon symbolically carried by a derwish.

Taurat.—The Torah, or Books of Moses. Also used for all the Old Testament except when distinguished from the *Zabur* of David.

Takbir.—The formula of praise to God, *Allahu-akbar,* God is great.

Tariqa.—"The Way" of the mystic. Each order of derwishes has its own special ceremonies of initiation, vows, and devotions. All seek the same goal, death to self and the vision of God, or absorption in God.

Taqîa.—Literally, "being on guard." A euphemism for deception in regard to religious matters; among the Shiahs this is permitted.

Tanzim.—Organization of religious matters and propaganda.

Tabligh.—To carry the message of Islam to others.

Tekey or *Tekke.*—(Turkish) A derwish monastery or retreat for the brotherhood who follow the mystic way.

Tubb-al-Nabawi.—Literally, Prophetic-medicine, *i. e.,* the traditional record of Mohammed's teaching on physiology and hygiene. This teaching is collected in popular manuals with the above title.

Ummi (plural, *Ummiyyun*).—Generally translated illiterate, but really signifying gentile, not Jewish, and therefore Arabian (See Chapter III).

Waqf.—Literally, "to stand still." A term in Moslem law for property which becomes inalienable when dedicated to religious or charitable use.

Weli (plural, *Auliya*).—A saint or intercessor. Every village in Egypt has its tomb of a *weli.*

Wird (plural, *Aurad*).—The ritual of a *Zikr;* or the prayer-book of a derwish order containing the names of God, of Mohammed, and various collects and doxologies.

Zabur.—The title given to the Psalms of David in the Koran.

Zemzam.—The sacred well at Mecca where Hagar found water for thirsty Ishmael.

Zimmi.—A non-Moslem subject of a Moslem government who is subject to a special tax but also to capitulation rights.

Zakat.—Legal alms. In the primitive sense of the word it means to sanctify or purify all of one's property by giving a portion to Allah.

Zawia.—A corner or enclosure used for religious worship. A *tekke.*

Zaheriya.—Opposed to *Batiniya.* The outward or exterior attributes of God and their celebration.

Zar (plural, *Zeeran*).—(The origin of the word is doubtful.) A sinister visitor or demonic spirit who possesses a woman or man. Also the ceremony of exorcism of this demon.

Zenana.—(Persian) The abode of women or their apartments. Also sometimes used for the household of wives and children.

Zikr.—Literally, "remembering," *i. e.*, the names and praises of Allah by repeating them many times alone or in concert. *Zikrs* are of two kinds: *jali,* which is recited aloud with shouting, whirling, dancing, etc., and *khafi,* that which is performed with a low voice or mentally.

Ziyarat.—A visit to the tomb of Mohammed at Medina, or to any other sacred shrine or tomb, to secure benefits from or confer them on the dead.

INDEX

"The mouse-hunt and ferret of an index."—MILTON.

[This index does not profess to be exhaustive, but it includes all of the more important place-names, names of persons and leading topics. Foreign words are defined in the glossary, but some of them are also indexed here.]

Abraham and his revelation, 83
Abrogated verses, 88; verses of the Koran, 91
Abu Sufian introduced writing to Mecca, 52
Abdullah Afifi on Womanhood in Islam, 94
Abu Bekr, his tomb, 183
Abyssinia, 191
Achin, 265
Adam and Eve met near Jiddah, 169
Aden, 44
Africa, Islam in, 21. (See also Sudan, Nigeria, South Africa)
Afrikaans, used by Moslems in South Africa, 247
Afghanistan, 140, 290; king of, 333
Aga Khan, 331, 334
Agriculture in Sumatra, 268
Ahl-ul-Kitab, 61
Ahmadiya Movement, 29, 185, 316 ff.
Ahl-i-Haqq, 284
Ajmere, 315
Albania, 355 ff.
Algiers, Cathedral of, 228
Algeria, 226 ff.
Allah, his words recorded in tradition, 78; character and attributes, 85, 86; nearness, 89; conception, 271
Al Ghazali, quoted, 74; on marriage, 105; on seclusion of women, 114, 288
Al Sha'arani advocates monogamy, 113
Albanian language, 356; Albania, 135
Al Nawawi's compendium of law, 106
Al Manawi, collector of traditions, 79
Al Arabi the Mystic, 77
Alexander the Great, 297
Al Hilal, Cairo periodical, 26
All India Moslem League, 334
American missionaries in Sumatra, 274; Board in, 274; University Cairo, 25; Presbyterians in Persia, 291
Amulets, 128; of the covenant of Solomon, 129, 199
Angora, 343
Animism, 216; in Islam, 197
André, Capt., quoted, 191
Apocryphal stories about Mohammed, 84
Arabic script, its early use, 53; language in China, 142; grammar in South Africa, 252; in South Africa, 247; language in India, 340; alphabet in the Balkans, 361
Arabia, women in, 123; polygamy in, 123. (See Hejaz and Mecca)
Arabian Nights, 111, 115
Arabs in Sumatra, 266; the Arabs, 38
Armenians, 72

Asiatics in Africa, 194
Astrology, 119
Atlas mountains, 228
Ayesha, Mohammed's child-wife, 101
Azhar University, 15, 72, 129

Baptisms in Persia, 282; at Bokhara, 311; of Moslems in Rumania, 349
Bankipore, Moslem library at, 315
Babis, the, 284
Balkan States, their future, 361; the Balkans, 343
Bantu races, the, 244, 254
Babi-Behai movement, 293
Bataks, 267; mission work among, 275
Becker, D. C. H., on the use of the word Islam, 318
Behar, women of, 150
Bengali language, 321
Berbers, 227
Bektashi Derwishes, 355, 356
Bengal, women in, 147; Moslems of, 314
Beluchistan, 320
Bessarabia, 348
Beira, 246
Bhopal, 315
Bible, Mohammed had no access to, 65; shop at Jiddah, 172; at Jiddah, 169; in African hands, 202; class for Moslems, 220; in Java, 263; translations for Central Asia, 311; sales to Moslems in Bulgaria, 352
Bishop Gwynne quoted, 215
Bilal, the first muezzin, 154
Bibliography of Islam, 22
Blood sacrifice in Islam, 287
Bishop French at Jiddah, 170
Black-stone, the, 178
Blantyre, 247
Bolshevism and Islam, 30, 47, 229, 309; in Persia, 291
Bokhara as Moslem centre, 302
Booksellers in Cairo, Moslem, 194
Bornu, 195
Bosnia, 357
Book-shops in Persia, 292
Bombay and the Mecca pilgrims, 315
Boraq and Mohammed's journey to heaven, 156
Bok, Edward, quoted, 256
Brotherhoods, Moslem (see Derwishes), 193
Brockelmann's catalogue of Arab literature referred to, 77, 80
Brigstock, Dr. P. W., quoted, 121
British Empire and Islam, 32-50
British and Foreign Bible Societies in the Balkans, 362
British Rule, 43
Bryce, Viscount, quoted, 42
Buddhism in Central Asia, 300; in Java, 259
Burton's prophecy regarding Mecca, 184
Burroughs, Dr. E. A., quoted, 37
Bulgaria, Islam in, 349 ff.
Bukhara, women of, 138

Capetown Moslems, 196
Casa Blanca, 225
Cardinal Lavigerie, 238
Cairo and the liquor traffic, 39
Cawnpore mosque, 160
Call to prayer, 162
Caliphate, 16, 17, 41; Committee on, 196, 251
Cannibals in Sumatra, 274
Central Asia and Islam, 299
Cemeteries, Moslem at Warsaw, 346
Church Unity in Persia, 291
Church Missionary Society, 218
Christianity in Africa, 188, 200, 203
Childhood, conditions of, 119
Christians at Jiddah, 171

Charms and amulets, 128
Christianity in Persia, 284
Chinese Mohammedans, 142
Child marriage, 121; in Siwa, 134; in Islam, 101
Christian churches, architecture of, 154
Christian sources of Islam, 75
Christian ethics and Islam, 30
Churchill, Winston, 38
Christian missions in India, 332
Chicago, mosque in, 157
Churches of Great Britain, 36
Chinese in Sumatra, 266
Chesterton, G. K., quoted, 18
Churches turned into mosques, 163
Christianity and Islam, 288
Christian literature in Persia, 294
Chicago, Islam in, 19
Christianity in Arabia, 68-69
Church Missionary Society in Persia, 282
Christian Church of Africa, 203
Conferences in North Africa, 224; in Persia, 281; in India, 314
Converts to Christianity, earliest, 190; from Islam in Java, 263; from Islam, 316; in the Dutch Indies, 276
Compromise, danger of, 270
Conquest of Sumatra, 266
Confucianism, its influence on Islam, 143
Concubinage, 99; in Bihar, 150
Contract of marriage, 108
Co-operation in Persia, 291
Copts, the, 71
Crabites, Judge Pierre, quoted, on womanhood in Islam, 94
Crescent and Cross in South Africa, 242; in Hungary, 347
Cromer, Lord, quoted, 40
Cross of Christ and Islam, 31; in history, 50
Custody of the child in Islam, 103
Cyprus, 354

Dahomey, 191
Day of Judgment, 86
Derwish Orders, 7, 194, 216, 233, 235; in South Africa, 250; in Russia, 299, 304; in Albania, 355; in India, 328; in Serbia, 360; in Bulgaria, 350
Divorce, 99, 106, 109; accursed, 103; its various forms, 107; in Persia, 137; in India, 150; in South Africa, 248; in Turkestan, 303
Dowry, 99; money paid in Siwa, 134
Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa, 245
Dutch East Indies Company, 257
Dutch Rule in the East Indies, 258

Easter Sunday at Jiddah, 172
Education in Islam, 24; in Sumatra, 267, 273; in Yugo-Slavia, 359; in Morocco, 230; in Albania, 356; in Rumania, 349; in Java, 262; in Mecca, 174; in Africa, 203; of Moslems in India, 327, 339; primary in Turkey, 353; of children, 196; British policy criticized, 46
Egypt, 45
English the language in India, 322
Epiphany (the magazine), 30
Esther, grave of, 280
Esser, B. J., quoted, 263
Europe and Islam, 343-363
Evans, Maurice S., quoted, 253
Evil eye, 119

Fanaticism, 41, 167, 295, 323
Fasting, 88
Feminist movement in Russia, 305
Fez, the city of, 231, 239
Fez, used in South Africa, 247

Flag, the British, its significance, 50, 171
Fort de Kock, 272
Freytag's Arabian proverbs, 94
French, Thomas Valpy, pioneer missionary to Arabia, 168
Friday worship, 163

Gabriel, the revealer of the Koran, 67, 82
Gairdner, W. H. T., quoted, 115
Gandhi and Moslem leaders, 323; Gandhi, quoted, 324
Gasprinsky, Ismail, 307, 309
Gentile, the correct translation of *ummi*, 59
Gordon, Charles George, 217
Goldziher on Islam and Christianity, 75
Gold Coast, the, 185, 193
Government and Islam in Bulgaria, 352
Government of North Africa, 228
Gog and Magog, 297
Gospel in Hebrew, 53, 69; in tradition, 90; Moslem mind and the, 29
Goudia and the Zar, 131
Grave of Eve near Jiddah, 169
Greek Church and Islam, 302
Greece, 354
Great Wall of China, 297 n.
Gypsies, Moslem, in Bulgaria, 350
Guillaume, Alfred, quoted, 104
Gulbaba, Moslem saint at Budapest, 346

Hadith Qudsi, 75-92
Hadith, and the New Testament, 75; the fireside literature of Islam, 100
Hampton Institute, 46
Hamza, grave of, 183
Hajj, ceremonies of the, 177, 178, 183
Haji Baba, his contempt for womankind, 148
Hartmann, quoted, 52, 94
Habl-ul-Matin, Persian newspaper, Calcutta, 293
Hassan the Divorcer, 109
Hell crowded with women, 97, 104
Headley, Lord, 333
Hejaz, 165, 173
Herzegovina, 357
Hinduism in Java, 259
Hindu Moslem relations, 313, 324
Hindu temples turned into mosques, 163
Hindu gods as prophets of Allah, 326
Hirschfeld, quoted, 67
Hospital at Tangier, 239
Holy War in Sumatra, 260
Honey as the panacea, 119
Holy Traditions, 76. (See *Hadith Qudsi*)
Hooper, C. T., opens Bible Depot at Jiddah, 171
Homes for Moslem children, 237
Hourîs of Paradise, 104
Hussein, king of Mecca, 175, 184
Huntington, Ellsworth, on Social Life in Central Asia, 140
Hungary and Islam, 344
Hurgronje, Dr. C. Snook, on womanhood in Islam, quoted, 51, 152
Hudaibiya, 70
Hyderabad, 317

Ibn Hisham, his Life of Mohammed, 64
Ibn Saood, 167
Ibn Moqaffa', scorn of womanhood, 111
Ibn al Faridh, Arab poet, quoted, 33
Ihram, the pilgrims dress, 182
Illiteracy of Mohammed questioned, 56; in Java, 261; in India, 327; in the Balkans, 361; illiteracy, 117

Illustrations and photographs, 8
Imam, 160
Imams, the twelve, 284
Imperialism, 37
Insanitary conditions, 120, 168
Infant mortality, 123; in Egypt, 124; in India, 125
Infanticide, 98
India, women in, 147, 149
India and Islam, 313-342
Internationalism in North Africa, 229
Ingratitude, man's, 89
Islam the religion of the desert, 15; its universality, 17, 18, 155; the universal religion, 93; in Europe, 20; in Cape Town, 242 ff.; its character, 185; Islam and animism, 197, 269; its spread in Africa, 190; losing ground, 200; in North Africa, 231; its strength, 232; its strength in Africa, 202; race problem and, 307; in Central Asia, 299; the coloured man's church, 244; in India, 313-342; not a unity, 318; in the Argentine, 19; in Russia, 297-312; in France, 18; in England, 18; and the Gospel, 335; in South Africa, 241-255; in South Eastern Europe, 343-363
Ivory Coast, 193

Jacobs, Col. H. F., quoted, 49
Jahiz, writes in favour of women, 113
Jalal-ud-Din Rumi, 288
Javanese Princess, her book *From Darkness to Light,* 144 ff.
Java and the Dutch East Indies, 143, 256-277
Jesus and the new Islam, 28; in tradition, 90, 91; and the world of demons, 132; his future tomb at Medina, 183; Jesus or Mohammed, 271; in Persian poetry, 288; in Persian art, 295; supreme, 338; his birth, character and Deity, 335, 336
Jerusalem the Holy, 80
Jerusalem, the dome of the rock, 156
Jews of Mecca, 52
Jiddah, 165, 167
Jiddah besieged, bombarded, Christians massacred at, 168
Jinn, 126. (See Superstitions)
Johannesburg, 252

Kaaba, 180 ff.
Kaaba-covering, 181
Kamal-ud-Din, 32
Kashgar, 301
Kashkul, 7
Kasim Bey Amin, 307
Kartini, Princess, 144
Kartini Schools in Java, 145
Kashmir Mohammedans, 120
Katherine II, Empress, publishes Arabic Koran, 311 n.
Kemalist newspaper, 41
Kemal Pacha, cartoon showing, 16
Kermanshah, 282
Khartoum, 208; Cathedral at, 222
Khurunfish, in Cairo, 181
Khuda Baksh on social conditions in India, 147-149
Kiswa, the covering of the *Kaaba,* 181
Koran translations, 22; how it came from God, 81; chapters abrogated, 82; verse misplaced, 87; tradition, their relation, 91; Koran and tradition, 91; Koran teaching on medicine and anatomy, 119; texts on the *Kaaba,* 181; Koran reading, 163; translations, 202; Koran texts on Franc notes, 228; Koran, Arabic, published at St. Petersburg, 311; Koran transla-

tion society, 332; translations in India, 332; translated into Serbian, 360; Koran in Albanian, 362
Koelle on the mythical Mohammed, 84
Kuzmany, Dr., quoted, 358

Lady Duff Gordon's letters quoted, 241
Lahore, 332
Lane, Arabic Dictionary, quoted, 57
Languages of North Africa, 227; of Java, 262; of Central Asia, 311; of Islam in India, 321
Law, Moslem, 38
Leper colony in Sumatra, 274
Letter from Moslem students, 337
Liberia, 191
Liberty in Persia, 294
Light, Moslem magazine, 17
Li'an, 107
Literature of Islam, 115; in South Africa, 252; in Africa, 202; in Persia, 292
Lord's prayer, the, in Islam, 75
Lord Curzon on Persia, 278
Loti, Pierre's novel *Disenchanted*, 151
Lugard, Sir Frederick, quoted, 36, 45

Mahdi, the, of the Sudan, 205; *Mahdi*, hope of the, 287
Madagascar, 195
Majidia, Moslem centre in Rumania, 348
Mary the Mother of Jesus, 98
Mansour Fahmi's book on Women in Islam, 96, 106
Matthew 25:31, quoted in tradition, 90
Max Havelaar, 258
Marriage in Ancient Arabia, 95; marriage, prohibited degrees, 98; with Jewess or Christian lawful, 98; marriage a part of religion, 102; marriage and divorce, 106; marriage, Mohammedan law on, 105 n.; marriage, benefits of, 105; marriage ceremony, 108; marriage ceremonies in Morocco, 118; marriage in Morocco, 133; marriage, temporary in Persia, 136; marriage customs in Persia, 137
Margoliouth, quoted, 74
Marco Polo, 300
Martyrs and their rewards, 87
Martyrs in Sumatra, 274
Mauritius, 195
Malayshia, women of, 145
Magic and sorcery in Islam, 128. (See Superstitions)
Mahmal, 181
Malet, Sir Edward, quoted on position of womanhood in Egypt, 97
Manuscript of Holy Traditions, 77
Maitland, Edward, his book, *England and Islam*, 32
Marechal Lyautey, interview with, 229
Mecca, women in Mecca who could write, 72; Mecca, the centre of the world, 155, 166; Mecca, population of, 165; Mecca, 165-184; Mecca, Christians excluded from, 167; Europeans who visited, 167; Mecca, history of, 180
Meshed pilgrims, 136
Methodist Episcopal Mission, Sumatra, 275
Medina, the tomb of the prophet, 183 ff.
Medicine in the Koran, 119
Methodist Episcopal Church in North Africa, 237
Medical work of the French Government, 230
Medan, centre of tobacco trade, 268
Merrick, James I., his book on Shiah Tradition, 62

Meyer de, Miss Jenny, pioneer in Central Asia, 310
Miller, Dr. Walter R., quoted, 122
Mirbt, Carl, quoted, 185
Missions in Sumatra, 269; in Java, 263
Missions and politics, 185
Missionary occupation in Sumatra, 276
Mihrab of the mosque, 158, 162
Millspaugh, Dr., in Persia, 278
Mohammed the ideal prophet, 19; Mohammed, lives of, 22; Mohammed, correspondence with Jews, 55; could he read and write? 51-74; his amanuenses, 54; Mohammed's wives could write, 55; Mohammed has a shop at Mecca, 56 n.; his death-bed, 70; wives brought to him by Gabriel, 100; Mohammed casts lots for his wives, 102; his insane jealousy, 116; Mohammed or Christ, 338
Mohammedan congress in Cairo, 307
Mosques, for women, in China, 142, 161; mosque as a place of worship, 154-164; mosque of piety, 156; mosque at Medina, 156; of Omar, 156; mosque, its derivation, 155; mosques are sacred, 160; in Cawnpore, 160; mosques forbidden, 160; mosques in South Africa, 163; mosque of Koota-Radja, 267; mosque in Poland, 345; mosque at Warsaw, 346; mosque of Dirar, 84; at Jerusalem, 156
Moslem Chronicle, Calcutta, 27; Moslem Brotherhood, 155; Moslem creed, 233; Congress in South Africa, 242; Moslem women of Capetown, 248; sects at Cape Town, 249; Moslem literature in Persia, 292; schools in India, 327; Moslem missionary societies, 330; Moslem a backward class in India, 340; saint of Budapest, 346; saint of Rumania, 348; education in Bulgaria, 351
Modernism in Russia, 305; in Turkey, 343
Modesty the chief virtue of women, 98
Moharrum, 325
Moluccas, 260
Monogamy in Islam, 113; in Albania, 135
Mohammed Ali's Holy Koran, 60
Morocco, 224 ff.; women in, 122; woman's life in, 132
Mongol conquest, 300
Mother India, 318
Morgan Schuster on Persia, 278
Moritz, quoted, 55
Mustapha Kemal, 273
Mutawalli, 160
Mutaa, temporary marriage, 137, 286
Muezzin, 158

Nationalism, 15, 40; in Persia, 283, 293
Natal, 194, 246
Newspapers in the Dutch East Indies, 261; in South Africa, 251
New Islam, 23
New Testament difficulties and the Moslem mind, 335, 336
New Turkey, 343
Neve, Dr. Arthur, quoted, 120
Nigeria, 45, 49; conditions of women in, 122
North Africa, missions in, 236-238
Nöldeke, quoted, 61
Nyasaland, 191

Objections to Christianity, 335, 336
Occupation of Persia, 289; of South Africa, 255

Ohod, battle of, 183
Omdurman, 205
Omar, his tomb, 183
Oman, 55

Pan-Islam, 232, 307, 329
Paradise at the feet of mothers, 105
Paris, Moslems in, 20; mosque in, 157
Pagan Elements in Christianity, 28
Padang, 272
Pautz, Otto, his list of authorities on Mohammed's literacy, 61
Persia, infant mortality in, 124; its importance, 282; Persia and Shiah Islam, 278-296; Persia a Bible land, 280; marriage in, 135; women in, 135; press in Berlin, 292
Persian language, its spread, 294
Persian Gulf, 43
Petra, a commercial town, 55
Perron, on pre-Islamic Arabia, 96
Periodicals, Moslem in India, 321; in Albania, 362
Philby's *The Heart of Arabia*, quoted, 123
Photographs of Mecca, 172
Pitts, Joseph, earliest Christian visitor to Mecca, 176
Pillars, the three near Mecca, 182
Pilgrimage, 182; to Mecca, 165, 261; at Jiddah, 173
Polygamy, 99, 199; in Java, 143-144, 146; in Bukhara, 139; as an institution, 149; in Central Asia, 140; in Turkestan, 303; in Islam, 93
Poland, 344
Polyandry in Ancient Arabia, 95
Pomaks, the Moslems of Bulgaria, 349
Ponafidine, Consul General, on women in Persia, 136
Poole, Stanley Lane, quoted, 151
Poona as Moslem centre, 331
Portuguese East Africa, 194, 246
Port Sudan, 206
Prayers in a mosque, their value, 160; in Mecca, 161; in Jerusalem, 161; in mosque, 158; prayer ritual, 158
Press, the Moslem (see also Periodical), 26, 196; in Russia, 305, 309; in Bulgaria, 352; in Europe, 361; in Crimea, 309; of India, 314; of South Africa, 251
Preaching methods, 271
Preparation of missionaries, 341
Pretoria, mosques in, 246
Primary education in Turkey, 353
Prodigal son referred to in tradition, 86
Prohibition of intoxicants in Islam, 39
Pulpit, of the mosque, 161, 162
Punishment of wives, 107
Purdah, its evil effects, 125, 333

Qarina, the familiar spirit, 127. (See Superstitions)
Qadian, 316
Qubattain, two small mosques at Mecca, 180
Qibla, 159, 162
Quba, mosque of, 156

Race problem, 37; of North Africa, 227; in Islam, 249; in South Africa, 255; races of Sumatra, 266; in India, 320
Railway to Medina, 165; in Sumatra, 267; in Persia, 279
Rabia of Basrah, a Moslem saint, 112
Ramadan, 163
Renan, on womanhood before Islam, 97

Religious freedom, 49; liberty in Serbia, 359
Re-marriage of divorced women, 99
Reforms in Turkey, 353, 354
Rhenish mission, 272
Rhodes, Island, 354
Riggs, Rev. Ernest W., quoted, 253
Ridhwan, the oath of, 70
Ritter, Karl, 35
Robertson Smith, quoted on the position of womanhood, 95
Rodwell's Koran, quoted, 57
Roman Catholic Missions, 201, 238
Roman Empire contrasted with British Empire, 45
Ronaldshay, Earl of, quoted, 313
Roome, W. J. W., his map of Africa, 186
Rumania, 347 ff.
Rushdy, Mme. H. Pacha, describes the Zar, 131
Russia and Islam, 297 ff.
Russian versions of the Koran, 311

Saint worship, 74, 235, 325, 329
Sanitation in Jiddah, 174
Sacrifice for Jinn, 131
Sari Saltyh, Derwish missionary in Albania, 356
Samarkand, 300
Sayyid Amir Ali, 16; on Moslem marriage, 109
Santa Sophia at Constantinople, 163
Schools in Jiddah, 174; in Serbia, 359
Sects in Islam, 24; in Bulgaria, 350; in Russia, 302; in India, 320, 322
Sex obsession in India, 115; morals, 117
Serajevo, 343
Shiahs believe that Mohammed could read and write, 62; Shiah Islam, 278 ff.; in India, 285, 322; Shiah pulpits, 161
Shilha language, 230
Sindh invasion, 321
Siberia, Moslems in, 298
Sibolga, 273
Silistra, Moslem centre in Rumania, 348
Singapore, 27
Siwa, oases of, 134
Social system of Islam, 39; in Morocco, 231; at Cape Town, 249; in Bengal, 324; in India, 326; in Serbia, 358
Southfields, mosque in, 157
South Africa, 185; mosques in, 163
Solomon's winged horses, 101
Soviets and Islam, 308
Sudan, education in the, 47; mosques built in the, 48; Sudan, French, 195; Anglo-Egyptian, 193; British rule in the, 206; Statistics of the, 207; language of the, 209; Imports of the, 208; Railways in the, 209; Christianity in the ancient, 209; education in the, 210; superstition in the, 210; Cathedral and mosque in the, 211; educational programme in the, 211; text-books used in the, 212-215; Government and Missions in the, 214-215; Anglo-Egyptian, 204-223; Roman Catholic Missions in the, 217; British rule in the, 205; Missions in the, 218; United Mission, 220; Christian literature in the, 221; Money investments in the, 223
Suleiman the Magnificent, 15
Sunnis of Albania, 355; in India, 322
Sufi teaching on marriage, 113
Sumatra, 264 ff.

Superstitions, 120, 126, 174, 270, 304, 329. (See also *Jinn* and *Zar*)
Sheikh Yusuf of Bantam, 245
Shoes in the mosque, 159
Shumen and its mosques, 351
Sprenger, his testimony to Mohammed's illiteracy, 66
Spread of Islam in Africa, 198, 253
Slavery, 39
Spice Islands, 260
Statistics of Islam in Africa, 187; in South Africa, 243; of pilgrimage, 261; of missions in the Dutch East Indies, 276; of Islam in Russia, 298; of Turkey in Europe, 353; world of Islam, 33-35
St. Monica's home, Cape Town, 249
St. Mark's Church, Venice, 154
Swedish missions in Central Asia, 310
Syncretism, 331; in India, 326

Tatars, Islam among the, 301
Tabligh movement, 331
Talaq (see divorce), 107
Tangier, 157, 224
Tanzim movement in Bengal, 330
Taqia, religious deception, 286
Trade of the Hejaz, 175
Trade in Morocco, 230; of Java, 257
Tradition, Mohammedan, 51; Moslem unreliable, 54, 83; to be committed to memory, 78; how it differs from the Koran, 81; and the Bible, 83
Teheran, 157
Tobolsk, 298
Tombs of *Pirs*, 120; of Eve, 169; of Fatima, 183; of saints, 216
Tolerance increasing, 334
Turkestan, 138, 297
Turkish press of Constantinople, 354; prison in Mecca, 175; Government and the massacres, 42; Government, 183; language in Cyprus, 355
Turkey, European, 352 ff.
Turks, the, of Serbia, 358
Tunisia, 226 ff.
Tuskegee Institute, 46
Theological, Moslem, schools in India, 327
Trinity, Moslem idea of, 29, 337
Trinidad, 27

Unoccupied fields, 21, 222, 240, 316, 338; Unoccupied fields in Persia, 289, 290
Unity of Islam, 24, 26, 196
United Presbyterian Mission, 218
University Education under Moslem control, 327
Ummi, 56 ff.
Upa, province, Moslems in, 302
Urdu, the most important language of Indian Islam, 321, 341
Urumia. 280
Urgency of the task in India, 342

Vambery, the traveller, 299
Veil in Islam, its origin, 100; according to Ghazali, 115; the origin of the, 116; the, in South Africa, 248; the, in Russian Turkestan, 304

Wahhabis, the, 162 ff.
Warsaw, Islam in, 346
Warneck, Dr. J., 275
Weaning of children in Islam, 119
Wellhausen, quoted, 54
Weltevreden, 272
Wensinck, A. J., quoted, 62 n.
Western civilization and Islam, 334
West Africa, 191
Westermarck, Edward, 118
Wherry, E. W., quoted, 58
White slave traffic, 248

Wilken, G. A., on women before Islam, 94
Wilno, Moslem centre, 344
Wine drinking at Mecca, 177
Wird, 234
Wives (see also women), 98; the ideal, 105; right to clothing from her husband, 107; to be equally treated, 110
Womanhood in Islam, 93, 117-153; woman's place in law, 98; in mosques, 161; the most valuable thing in the world, 101; a bad omen, 104; women and politics, 104; her virtues, 103; her inferior position, 111; women in Egypt, 135; of Morocco, 133; in Java, 143; of Siwa, 134; considered witches in Siwa, 134; Moslem in Russia, 303; of the Afghans, 140; in the *Arabian Nights*, 111; women have souls in Islam, 97; women in Turkey, 354
Woking, mosque in, 15, 157
Writing materials in Arabia, 52, 55

Yao, 196
Year Book of Moslem missions, 331
Yenbo, 173, 175
Young Turks, the, 173
Yunnan (China), 142
Yugo-Slavia, 357 ff.

Zar, the, 130, 198
Zanzibar, 157
Zambezi, Islam south of the, 191
Zawia, visit to a, 216
Zem-Zem, the well of, 179
Zenobia, 94
Zikr, the, 232, 234
Zomba, 247

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